

# THE SOCIAL SERVICE REVIEW

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MARCH 1942

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# THE SOCIAL SERVICE REVIEW

A QUARTERLY DEVOTED TO THE SCIENTIFIC AND  
PROFESSIONAL INTERESTS OF SOCIAL WORK

*Edited by*

THE FACULTY OF THE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SERVICE ADMINISTRATION  
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*Few women in America have exerted greater influence on social welfare than the late Grace Abbott. For thirteen years prior to 1934 she was chief of the Federal Children's Bureau at Washington, later Professor of Public Welfare Administration, the University of Chicago, and author of the two-volume work "The Child and the State." In this volume appear a number of her addresses and papers, constituting an informative, stimulating record of the depression decade, including various plans still of timely value in the consideration of still urgent questions. Edited by Edith Abbott.*

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# The SOCIAL SERVICE REVIEW

VOLUME XVI

MARCH 1942

NUMBER 1

## THE EFFECT OF WAR AND CIVIL DEFENSE ON CHILDREN: THE BRITISH EXPERIENCE<sup>1</sup>

MARTHA M. ELIOT, M.D.

### INFLUENCE ON SOCIAL SERVICES FOR CHILDREN

THE provision of social and health services for children during the war has been influenced profoundly by the government's policy of evacuating children from cities under bombing, by the necessity of withdrawing personnel from regular service for air-raid precautions and emergency medical services, by the provisions necessary for the care of bombed-out families, and more recently by the steady increase in the number of women going into industry. Though many well-established services have been disrupted, many new ones have been developed. Health workers have had to adjust their work to new conditions, and shifts in emphasis have occurred.

Social workers have found that their services were needed in new channels, and many have been moved from city to country. Social workers, formerly employed as child-care organizers for the London school system, have been assigned to regional staffs of the Ministry of Health or to county health offices to assist with community organization in reception areas. The demand for this type of worker has become greater than the supply.

<sup>1</sup> This is a section of a larger report to be published shortly by the United States Children's Bureau, Publication No. 279.

The need for extension of the child-guidance service has become pressing, and skilled workers are being sought in cities and in the reception areas.

Impetus has been given to the nursery-school movement, though the pattern has been modified to some extent to meet the new demand for community nursery centers and residential nurseries for evacuated children.

In every phase of the social and health services there is evidence that difficult situations have been met with a surprising degree of success, and initiative in capitalizing on the present situation to build something better for the future is widespread.<sup>2</sup>

*Congregate care.*—In the industrial centers there has been an increasing demand for the establishment of day nurseries and nursery schools and for the extension under government control of the "minder" system commonly used in the past in certain industrial cities where mothers of young children have been accustomed to go to work, leaving their children to be "minded" by a neighbor, often of dubious qualifications as a caretaker of children. Though it was not the intention of the government to call up married women with young children in large numbers in connection with the national registration, it was recognized that in many of the industrial cities women were already being employed increasingly in munitions and other factories, and the need for places where young children could be cared for in groups, such as day nurseries, nursery schools, and nursery centers, was very pressing. The need was so pressing, in fact, that serious consideration was being given to expansion of the "minder" system because, in the opinion of some in the Ministry of Labour and National Service, it could be developed more rapidly than could day nurseries and could be supervised by the health visitors under health agencies who had been accustomed to supervising boarding homes under the Child Life Protection Act. Opposition to the development of this system was already being expressed by workers who realized the dangers of the government's giving approval and financial support to such a scheme, even though every

<sup>2</sup> A more detailed description of the changes in the health and welfare services will be found under the discussion of the evacuation. See pp. 97-128 of complete report (Children's Bureau Pub. No. 279).

effort was made to use only registered and approved "minders" and to require frequent inspection and reports.

National organizations concerned with day nurseries and nursery schools were active in giving assistance in the care of children under five not only in planning and supervising the evacuation of day nurseries and nursery schools from London and other industrial centers under bombing but also in stimulating the establishment of new nurseries and nursery centers in industrial cities where women were at work or in reception areas.

As the war progressed, the demand increased steadily for residential nurseries in reception areas to house new groups of young children from the evacuation areas—children from bombed-out families whose mothers could not leave home, or children whose mothers were working in some war industry. Late in the first year of the war a number of additional residential nurseries were established with the financial assistance of the government and under the supervision of the Ministry of Health. As was the case with day nurseries evacuated from London at the beginning of the war, voluntary agencies were given the responsibility for management of these new nurseries.

The establishment of new nursery schools during the period following evacuation had to give way temporarily to the development of a modified form known as a "nursery center" organized in reception areas to assist in the over-all problem of adjustment of the evacuated mothers with children under five to their new environments. Similar centers were established in industrial cities, but under these conditions they resembled day nurseries more than the typical nursery school. The shortage of well-trained nursery-school teachers seemed to be the chief reason why nursery centers rather than nursery schools were established in reception areas. The Ministry of Health and the Board of Education have encouraged the development of nursery centers.<sup>3</sup>

Owing to war conditions and the evacuation scheme, certain changes have taken place also in the congregate care of older children.

Children attending special day schools in London and in other

<sup>3</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 79 and 125.

large industrial cities were evacuated in many cases as "special parties" to school camps or other large residential estates where whole classes or even whole schools could be accommodated together. This plan involved, particularly, children who were retarded mentally and children who were in special classes because of crippling or heart disease. These two groups in London were evacuated to the London County Council's special convalescent home outside the metropolitan area. A special group of children with diabetes was evacuated to one of the residential establishments. These "special parties" remained under the general supervision of the London County Council, though under the immediate supervision of the local authority also.

Classes of senior-school or secondary-school children were sometimes evacuated from London to school camps, which were thereby transformed into boarding schools. This procedure was not universally approved, but many believed that it was an intensely interesting experiment in education of secondary-school children in tax-supported boarding schools which should not be condemned until it was tried out carefully.

On the other side of this picture was the experiment of placing out in private homes children who had lived, sometimes most of their lives, in institutions under the charge of public assistance authorities in London. With the evacuation order the public assistance authorities agreed that children over five in their institutions could be placed in billets with children from the regular schools. One worker reported that the experiment had been a complete success with 70 per cent of the children so placed from one institution and that still further adjustment would undoubtedly take place. It was reported that the agency would never return to the institutional form of care.

*Mass billeting versus selective placement.*—Under the conditions of evacuation from a city in actual or potential danger from bombing, selective placement of each child was impossible. The plan for mass placement will be described in detail under the section on evacuation.<sup>4</sup> The results of this procedure have been surprisingly good and should be weighed in the light of the fact that the children to be placed were "run-of-the-mine" children from all the schools of the

<sup>4</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 43 ff.

cities evacuated. That thoughtful observers of the movement estimated that only from 10 to 15 per cent of the total groups turned out to be more or less difficult to place is a significant commentary on the success of the plan. How successful the adjustments were of the remaining 85 per cent is not known as yet. A majority must have been reasonably successful or more information on difficulties would be at hand. Nevertheless, the authorities were aware that serious consideration should be given to the need for special placement of many children and that the use of hostels for difficult children<sup>5</sup> was not the best solution in many cases.

Thoughtful consideration was being given, especially by child-guidance workers and by child-care workers who had been placed in reception areas, to the special need for selective placement in foster-homes of young children and older children with various behavior problems. Child-placing agencies, such as the Invalid Children's Aid Association and the Children's Country Holidays Fund, have continued their programs and have given assistance to the authorities by placing in selected homes difficult children or children from bombed-out families who could not be cared for under the government evacuation scheme. Because of the great number of children that had to be billeted in a very short time under the initial evacuation scheme, the great crowding of all reception areas near London, and the relative lack of trained workers, it was impossible to attempt to carry out an extensive plan of special placement, desirable as it might have been. It was, however, current belief among social workers that more selective child-placing was much needed.

#### PHYSICAL CONDITION OF CHILDREN

*In evacuation areas.*—Reports from the Ministry of Health and from various health officials in regional and county health offices, from education authorities, and from other observers received in February, 1941, indicate that the physical condition of children in the cities under bombardment had not so far been seriously affected by the situation. Undoubtedly the physical condition of many children has been affected by the kind of life they must lead in evacuation areas, but to identify such children has been found exceedingly difficult.

<sup>5</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 110.

No detailed records of examination of children were available for study to determine whether the nutritional status of the children was being affected by rationing or by the disturbances in family life or continued experiences in shelters. The interference with normal sleep and the exposure to infections must have some deleterious effect on children continually subjected to the discomforts of spending the night in shelters. Colds were reported to be prevalent, though epidemics of more serious import had not occurred. Reports from social workers indicated, however, that the effect on individual children in terms of loss of vigor and general well-being was apparent.

That concrete manifestation of ill effect could not be identified readily by physicians came out after the issuance in January, 1941, of the circular from the Ministry of Health calling for compulsory evacuation of children found at medical examination to be suffering in mind and body as a result of hostile attack or in such a state of health as to be likely so to suffer if they remained in a specified evacuation area.<sup>6</sup> By the end of February, in only a few cases had physicians been willing to certify to conditions that required compulsory evacuation. On the other hand, the possibility that compulsion might be used had served as a lever to get a much larger number of mothers voluntarily to evacuate children known to be in generally poor condition because of the life they were leading in shelters.

*In reception areas.*—Reports of health, education, and welfare authorities indicated that the physical condition of children evacuated to small towns and villages in the reception areas has on the whole been greatly improved. Though again statistics were not available to show gains in weight or other evidences of improved physical health except for reports on small groups of children, workers in the reception areas consistently reported that children from the city gained in weight rapidly during the first few months after evacuation—in the opinion of some, more rapidly than would be expected normally. Reports from others indicated that the gains were not unusual or that, if they appeared to be very rapid at first, the rate decreased later and the gain continued in the curve that would be expected. The opinion of many workers was that the general vigor and activity of the children were greatly improved.

<sup>6</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 96.



The only widespread epidemic that had occurred since evacuation started was the epidemic of measles still current in February, 1941. Measles had been prevalent throughout reception areas and had occurred in many of the residential nurseries. Reports indicated, however, that there was no abnormal increase in bronchopneumonia associated with measles and no increase in mortality. Statistical data on mortality were not available and will not be available until the vital statistics are prepared at a later date.

A report from one reception area, dated January, 1941, indicates that epidemics of infectious diarrhea were not uncommon in the residential nurseries established for evacuated day nurseries or nursery schools in September, 1939, or thereafter. In many cases the adult attendants also had the disease or complained of sore throat. Some children were seriously ill with fever, jaundice, diarrhea, and vomiting, and several children died. In a number of cases septic sore throats were reported. A few cases of scarlet fever, whooping cough, and chicken pox were reported, indicating spread of these diseases within one nursery; but no widespread epidemic occurred.

The epidemics of infectious diarrhea were attributed, by the representatives of the Ministry of Health with whom it was discussed, largely to the overcrowding that existed when these nurseries were established under the pressure of the first evacuation in September and October, 1939. The organization of these nurseries had been left to the voluntary agencies responsible for the groups of children in London, and detailed standards of care and housing had not been set up by the Ministry. The Ministry, on receiving reports of sickness, immediately sent women inspectors or physicians to the nurseries, who looked into the housing conditions and the milk and water supplies. Standards of housing and care were set up, isolation quarters established, overcrowding reduced, trained state-registered nurses placed in each nursery, laboratory facilities made available, and medical care provided, with pediatric consultation if required. In February, 1941, the situation appeared to be under control, though some cases of diarrhea were still being reported, and on visits to two nurseries children isolated because of diarrhea were observed. The Ministry of Health was receiving reports from all nurseries of any illness among the children or staff. The opinion was expressed, how-

ever, that more medical-inspection service was needed from the regional offices of the Ministry if the conditions in the nurseries were to be really satisfactory.

#### PROTECTIVE FOODS FOR CHILDREN

With rationing of food for all the civilian population, special efforts have been made to provide the protective foods in adequate quantities for children. The Ministry of Health early declared that children and pregnant women should be given priority in the distribution of milk, and a scheme to distribute dried milk through child welfare and prenatal centers and the schools was organized by this Ministry in 1940. In February, 1941, an additional proposal had been made by the Ministry of Food to issue an order giving young children priority in the use of oranges. Both these priority orders have recently been supported by the Ministry of Health. Shortages in the supply make the strict enforcement of the priority orders essential if children are to be protected. The foods necessary to provide a well-balanced midday meal in the schools were being made available by the Ministry of Food; and, as has been pointed out, communal feeding centers have been established in many of the evacuation areas and also in reception areas for evacuated children.

The scarcity of eggs, cheese, and meat, and their limitation to individual families through rationing, has meant that the amounts included in the diet of children are greatly limited, except so far as they can be included in the school meals.<sup>7</sup>

Visits to residential nurseries brought out the fact that oranges had not been available for a good many months for the young children living in these nurseries. Health visitors, welfare workers, and others reported that the shortage of foods containing vitamin C was very great. Though they preferred to have a supply of orange juice or grapefruit juice, since the people had been taught to give these foods to their children, nevertheless they felt that there would be no difficulty in teaching mothers to give their children vitamin C tablets

<sup>7</sup> A report on the *Deterioration in Health of the Elementary School Children in an Area of Gloucestershire in Relation to War Conditions*, published since this report was prepared, indicates that shortage of meat, fish, fruit, and cheese was believed to have accounted for the increase in absenteeism. There was also an increase in colds, coughs, and sore throats.

daily, should these be made available through child welfare centers and the schools. The importance of increasing the supplies of vitamin C was emphasized by experts of both the Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Food.

In July, 1940, the Ministry of Food inaugurated the National Milk Scheme, under which every expectant or nursing mother and every child under five can obtain one pint of milk daily at the reduced price of 2d. (compared with 4½d. in most areas). If the parents' income does not exceed 40s. a week (plus 6s. for each nonearning dependent), the milk may be obtained free. After a year's operation of the scheme, over three million persons were benefiting from it (in August, 1941). Dried milk (full cream or half cream) can be obtained on similar terms if a doctor prescribes it in place of liquid milk.

Though cod-liver oil was still available to some extent for infants the resources were very limited, and it was apparent that an increase in the supplies of vitamins A and D would be needed shortly. Workers in the child welfare field indicated that vitamins A, D, and C put up in special capsule form for use with infants would be very acceptable.

#### GENERAL MORALE AMONG CHILDREN AND YOUTH

The morale and general emotional condition of children, both those under bombing and those evacuated to areas of relative safety, were on the whole amazingly good under the circumstances. Reports from many types of workers with children indicated that, though before the air attack it was expected that many children would suffer emotionally, the actual facts of the situation did not prove this to be the case. The reports indicated, on the other hand, that many children reacted to the bombing as if it were an adventure. Even child-guidance workers repeatedly stated that the effect of the bombing on children was less than had been expected; and, though great preparations had been made for war neuroses among adults, the number of cases was extraordinarily small.

A certain number of severe psychoses among children did result, however, from experiences associated with bombing. Some of them finally found their way to hospitals or to child-guidance clinics. Many less severe disturbances were known to workers, but the total

effect will not be known for some time to come. In the opinion of some social workers many more children were suffering from emotional disturbance than seemed to be at this time. It was the opinion of some child-guidance workers that the neuroses or psychoses that did occur were nearly always in children who had histories of previous emotional disturbances or behavior difficulties which had flared up as a result of the situation created by bombing or evacuation. It was evident that children insecure in their own homes were not able to stand up against the total situation and that these children particularly reacted unfavorably when they found their homes destroyed or were removed and placed in foster-homes. Child-guidance and other workers reported that often the fears of children were transmitted to them by their parents, and, vice versa, a courageous attitude on the part of parents meant courage and confidence among the children.

Though in general many children did not show severe emotional strain, observers who continued to live in London during the attacks indicated that the strain of night after night in shelters and the continuous uncertainty, coupled with loss of homes and of regular family life, were beginning to tell in the general emotional life of the children living in the areas where bombing was most severe. Reports from settlement-house workers in the East End of London brought this out most clearly.

Little children under six or eight years of age seemed on the whole to react more favorably to the situation, but that in some cases bombing had a severe effect on the emotional life of even young children was borne out by the reports of psychologists with regard to little children suffering from typical psychoses or anxiety neuroses. Fortunately, the number of these cases was relatively small. The effect on the young child who has shown little or no overt reaction to what must be a seriously disturbing situation in thousands of cases is not as yet known.

Older children and young people were reported as reacting with an urge to activity and a restlessness which resulted often in inability to concentrate on any serious activity. Social workers reported that one group of young people coming to the settlement clubs at the time when the "blitz" began did not want to continue their usual club

activities but demanded to be allowed to dance late into the evening. This urge to dance was continuous throughout the several weeks of the "blitz," and nothing that the settlement workers could suggest would divert the young people from this interest. When alerts sounded and the young people found that they must seek shelter, they often preferred to go to shelters in groups, separate from their families. It was not until some weeks after the "blitz" had started that the settlement workers were able to get the young people to participate in other types of activities or to initiate any projects that were constructive in character. The first type of new activity that the young people wanted to undertake was dramatics. In February, 1941, six months after the onset of the "blitz," the young people in this settlement in the East End were once again finding an interest in a somewhat larger variety of projects, though their chief interest still was in dramatics.

Except for this urge on the part of young people for activity, which may have led them to seek adventure away from their families, the effect of the "blitz" was to solidify family feeling and family life. Many families when bombed out, though theoretically desirous of evacuating their children to safer areas, kept them at home because of the desire of the parents to have the children near and to protect them. The sense of insecurity which children of all ages must have had as a result of the loss of homes and the general destruction about them was mitigated perhaps, at least to some extent, by their feeling of security within the family. One social worker, in speaking of this tremendously strong family and home feeling, pointed out how difficult it was for city dwellers, even though bombed out of their homes and shelters, to decide to break up the family life and leave home to go to the country. Families that had never before had to depend on public authorities for assistance knew for the first time what it was to have to seek aid. In many cases families that were bombed out could make no plans that would give them a sense of security and had no promise of new homes. Many families preferred staying in the area of the city which they knew as home and where they had friends, even though it was seriously damaged, because of the strangeness and the sense of insecurity that came with moving into a new area where new friends would have to be made. All this insta-

bility of family life, loss of home and possessions, and movement from place to place must be having its effect upon the children in the families.

It is difficult, however, to weigh the effect on children of life of this sort in the city against the effect of separation and of insecurity resulting from removal from the home and placement in a foster-home in the country. The history of evacuation, however, would indicate that public opinion was in favor of removal of children from the bombed areas. The decision which the authorities made in establishing the policy of evacuation was based primarily on the consideration that the preservation of the lives, safety, and general well-being of children was the primary objective. The opinions expressed among social and health workers in London after six months of bombing would bear out the wisdom of the government's policy. Nearly every worker or observer interviewed agreed in February, 1941, that children were best off away from the bombing. The fact that the parents of five-sixths of the school children and of the children under five had by January 1, 1941, voluntarily co-operated with the government in evacuating their children to places of relative safety indicates that the people agreed with the government.

#### THE EFFECT OF EVACUATION ON THE EMOTIONAL LIFE OF CHILDREN

The mass evacuation of children which took place both before and after the onset of bombing must be regarded as an important civil defense measure, and one not undertaken without careful consideration of the many effects upon the children. In the first evacuation, in September, 1939, nearly a million children were removed from their own homes and placed largely in foster-families in the country within a period of four days. It was a planned mass migration—the greatest child-placing project ever undertaken. It should be borne in mind that the group placed was a cross-section of all children in the population except those in families who were in a position to find their own accommodations. This meant that the majority probably were children from homes where family life was on the whole reasonably well adjusted and that the proportion of children who were “difficult” or were known to have behavior problems before evacuation,



or whose parents were in difficulty, was smaller than in any group of children coming to a child-placing agency for foster-home care in normal times.

Though many children placed in strange surroundings immediately showed reactions which without doubt were due to emotional disturbances, such as the sudden onset of enuresis or other psychosomatic difficulties, petty delinquencies such as thieving, or other asocial behavior, the great majority of children fitted into their new homes with reasonable success.

The return home of a large number of children of school age during the first few weeks after evacuation was apparently due more to the absence of bombing in London and to the desire of the parents to have the children with them, or the unwillingness of parents to leave children in a community the life of which was very strange to them, than to maladjustments of the children themselves to their new homes, though naturally "misfits" did account for the return of a good number. Later, when the drift back to London had practically ceased and the 400,000 children left in their new homes had settled down to a normal routine, it was possible to judge more accurately the number of misfits. It was estimated in some areas where data were available that not more than 10 or 15 per cent of the children should be classified as difficult for placement. The difficulties were due to a number of causes, among which various behavior problems or minor emotional disturbances took first place.

Authorities did not foresee the need that would arise for the immediate congregate care of children who for one reason or another were difficult to place in individual foster-homes. Enuresis was a common cause of difficulty. Many cases of acute enuresis were handled successfully by rebilleting children in families that were responsive to the children's emotional needs. Cases of chronic enuresis frequently had to be dealt with in hostels for the care of such children. In the analysis of a series of cases carried by a child-guidance worker in a county north of London during the first year of evacuation, enuresis accounted for nearly 28 per cent of the original complaints. Other psychosomatic disturbances, such as fecal incontinence, speech disorders, and sleepwalking, contributed another 10 per cent, and psychoneurotic disorders, including anxiety neuroses and depression,



25 per cent. Behavior disorders, including petty thieving and other types of aggressive and unmanageable behavior, made up still another 25 per cent, and educational difficulties, including mental defects and retarded speech, accounted for 11 per cent.

*Child guidance.*—The occurrence of these behavior and emotional disturbances among children in the reception areas stimulated almost at once requests on the part of health and other officials for the assignment of social workers and child-guidance workers from London to assist in the supervision and care of these children, the establishment of suitable hostels for their temporary or more permanent care, their supervision in foster-homes, and the development of other community activities to help in the adjustment of these and other children to their new surroundings. Almost immediately after the first evacuation in September, 1939, the Mental Health Emergency Committee offered to assign mental health workers to a few of the reception areas for the purpose of helping to deal with evacuation problems among children, to set up child-guidance clinics, and to establish registers of social workers trained in mental health and of voluntary workers. The number of workers that could be lent was small, but during the year and a half since the first evacuation a number of workers have been lent to reception areas, seven new child-guidance clinics have been opened in the provinces, and the importance of the contribution to be made by these workers has become fully realized by the health and other authorities in many of the counties.

In November, 1939, the Mental Health Emergency Committee suggested to the Ministry of Health that a useful purpose could be served if a survey of existing hostels for children were instituted. In May, 1940, such a survey was requested by one of the senior regional medical officers of the Ministry of Health. This survey was carried out and proved valuable to the Ministry of Health and the local authorities because it assisted in reclassifying the hostels and indicated the types of hostels it was necessary to establish on a regional basis. The survey pointed out that there should be not only sick bays for children suffering from minor physical conditions but also clearing and observation homes where difficult children could be observed for a period of time, homes for children suffering from temporary emotional disturbances, and, lastly, homes for children with persistent

psychological difficulties. The recommendations included statements concerning the qualifications of personnel necessary to staff the observation homes for difficult children and pointed out that all the homes should, when at all possible, have psychiatric advice available.

The need for providing more workers in the child-guidance field, and therefore the need for more extended facilities, was stated repeatedly in interviews. It was believed that social workers and others suitable for training were available. The finances and facilities for training are inadequate at the present time.

*Child-care workers.*—The appointment of child-care workers from the London child-care committees to serve in the regional offices of the Ministry of Health and also in the county health departments will help very considerably in meeting the need of the local authorities for workers who understand these emotional disturbances in children. It was the opinion of local health workers that, with a child-guidance worker available to give specialized advice and a child-care worker in the county to help with community organization of case-work and group activities, most of the problems among children could be handled.

*Reports and articles on psychological aspects of evacuation.*—Much has been reported in the press, in parliamentary debates, and in magazines and books regarding the problems arising from evacuation. Perhaps the most pertinent of the printed articles that relate to the emotional life of the evacuated child are those prepared by a group of child-guidance workers and published first under the general title *Emotional Problems of the Evacuation* and later as a booklet called *Children in War-Time*. Here are to be found discussions and recommendations for further action on emotional disturbances among children removed suddenly under conditions of stress from their families, on problems of the young child, on the reactions of the mother who has been deprived of her children, on the problems of foster-parents and teachers, on visiting by parents, and on homes for difficult children. Some conclusions reached by these writers are worth repeating here.

In summing up her article on "The Uprooted Child," Dr. Susan Isaacs says:

Evacuated children have three deep needs. First, they need not only shelter, food, and clothing, but warmth of atmosphere, love, and friendliness. They need

a home. They can no more live without love and warm friendliness than they can without food and shelter.

Secondly, they need an active social life among their companions, together with the space, material, and opportunity for play, and for all the creative activities (arts and crafts, drama, books, excursions) which will enable them to feel that they are still learning and creating, and help them understand the new aspects of life with which they are surrounded. Play centers and their own schools should give them these active experiences of the new world they now live in.

Thirdly, they need help in keeping alive the images of their parents and their loyalties to their own homes. The foster parents, the schools, the social agencies, cannot serve these children fully if they break these links. They can do so only if they show a friendly attitude to the children's own family and home life. And this is not a mere matter of allowing or encouraging visits from parents. It has much more to do with attitudes and feelings. The boon of good food, country air, new experiences, a better way of life, are little worth if they are allowed to drive a wedge between the child and his own parents.

Dr. John Bowlby, writing on "The Problem of the Young Child" from the psychiatrist's point of view, recommends:

1. That suitable accommodation should be provided in reception areas for those mothers who are willing to go with their younger children. Such accommodation should not be in other people's houses, but should provide the evacuated mother with a little home of her own either in an empty cottage or as part of a community of mothers and children in a large house.

2. In the case of children whose mothers cannot leave the danger areas, every effort should be made to arrange for them to go either to friends or relations already in a safe area or with friends who are themselves being evacuated.

3. Where this cannot be arranged it should be considered whether the child is not better off with his mother in an evacuation area than in a reception area with a stranger. Babies under 2 years old should on no account be evacuated to the care of strangers.

4. If small children are evacuated without either mothers or friends, every possible care should be taken to see that they remain in the care of one person during the period of their evacuation. To this end it is suggested that as many children as possible should be placed in families with willing foster mothers, but that where special workers are employed these workers should be appointed as foster mothers to particular children instead of as nurses to a large group of children. In this way it is hoped to encourage a sense of personal interest and responsibility to individual children amongst the helpers.

5. Every encouragement should be given to mothers to visit their little children regularly, if possible at least monthly.

In his article on "The Deprived Mother" D. W. Winnicott summarizes as follows:

1. When a mother is suddenly relieved of her children her whole life is thrown out of gear. Time is required for her to reorganize her interests satisfactorily.
2. She is helped by being accurately informed of the extent of the real danger of keeping her children at home.
3. She is also helped by knowing her child is to be well cared for in the billet, especially if she can feel, and can be allowed to feel, that she and the foster mother are cooperating with each other.
4. Strong feelings are liable to be roused when children and parents are separated from each other. Jealousy and suspicion appear, as well as blind over-reliance. It is more valuable to study the causes of such feelings than to condemn them.
5. When children return home their mother has to make another difficult adjustment, one which will again require time.

The problems of foster-parents are presented in an article on "Foster Parents" by Ruth Thomas, an educational psychologist. Miss Thomas points out:

1. The problems of selection of foster homes, of fitting children into suitable homes, of seeing behind the reasons which people adduce for their difficulties, call for the skill of a trained social worker.
2. Information about children and foster parents must be of a more than haphazard kind.
3. Permanent workers are needed to keep in close and constant touch with foster parents.
4. Social workers are needed to set up foster-home registers from which billets for especially difficult children are chosen and for which special allowances are paid.
5. All the problems are not psychological, but involve setting up certain community services to relieve the strain on the foster parents, as communal laundries, communal feeding, mending and sewing clubs, and play centers for children.

In her article on "Visiting" Dr. Sybille L. Yates, a psychiatrist, recommends:

1. Visits of parents to children at regular monthly intervals are desirable.
2. Those visits should not begin too early, say not for 3 or 4 weeks after the child has been evacuated unless acute distress goes on manifesting itself.
3. Places be provided in the reception area where parents and children can meet outside the billet.
4. Older children but not younger ones should be permitted to go home for holidays while possible.

Other articles that should be mentioned are one by Edna M. Henshaw on "Some Psychological Difficulties of Evacuation," which is a report of a study for the Bradford Education Committee of eighty-five cases of billeting difficulty made by the Child Guidance Council, and one by Cyril Burt on "The Incidence of Neurotic Symptoms among Evacuated School Children."

Two studies of groups of evacuated children from the psychological viewpoint have been made and should be referred to here. They are the Liverpool study and the Cambridge survey.

*The Liverpool study.*—The first study, made by the Department of Social Science of the University of Liverpool, was undertaken "to discover the 'real facts' about the reaction of the population to the scheme and to apply a reliable test to popular criticisms of it." The study was undertaken in October, 1939, in two parts. The first, conducted in a working-class district in Liverpool, was an attempt to look at the evacuation problem from the standpoint of the guest rather than the host; the second consisted of an inquiry in the reception areas to observe and study the difficulties there. The study was based on information obtained in house-to-house interviews by former students in the Department of Social Science, social workers who volunteered to do the work, and other volunteers.

A summary of the first part of the study follows:

It has been found that the main difficulties are:

1. The great difficulty of the mother in adapting herself to the new environment, the host in accepting the intrusion of somebody who has a different standard of living.
2. The fact that the separation of the parents from the children frequently gives rise to a serious emotional problem.
3. The urgent economic problems raised by the necessity of buying more and better clothes for the children, and the cost of fares to visit them, so long as the saving on the cost of their keep does not compensate for the extras they require.
4. Lack of selection in placing the children (e.g., those who are found to be unhealthy or verminous), and in some instances poor organization resulted in the immediate return of mothers from reception areas in which adequate accommodation was not available.
5. The removal of the children from the reception areas by parents without due consideration or consultation.
6. The departure of the mother from the home, leaving behind members of the family who are unused to managing on their own, with resulting difficulty

and the possibility of the home being still further broken up. In addition there is the economic difficulty of keeping two homes going.

7. So long as air raids are not serious these problems cannot be entirely solved, and, in particular, the large majority of the mothers cannot be evacuated.

Suggestions for meeting these problems are as follows:

1. Many of the problems could be solved if trained social workers were appointed in each reception area to visit the homes regularly and give informal advice to the hosts on the care of the children and their education and straighten out any difficulties the hosts may have had with the children.

2. Propaganda through the medium of wireless talks, women's pages in the press, and women's papers.

3. It is essential that each reception area should find out beforehand how many mothers and how many children they could take and notify the appropriate authorities so that only evacuees for whom there was a definite place would be sent away. At the same time the evacuation officials should arrange for a medical examination of the evacuees, and those unsuitable for private houses should be sent immediately to camps and hostels.

4. Some regulation should be made whereby parents could not take their children away from their hosts without the consent of the appropriate education authority.

The second part of the Liverpool study covered some of the problems of the hostess and her difficulties, the behavior of the children, problems of enuresis and of verminous children, problems raised by visits from parents, and questions of the adequacy of the billeting allowance. The study also considered two additional questions: "Why did the children leave?" and "Is future evacuation possible?" The conclusions of this part of the study were, in brief, as follows:

1. The evacuation scheme, despite its voluntary basis, has not entirely broken down. The majority of the hosts behaved splendidly and succeeded in making the children entrusted to them happy. A great number of the parents cooperated to the best of their abilities.

2. That the scheme was not a complete success was due to the following facts:

- a. Faulty organization in the billeting of dirty, verminous, and enuretic children.

- b. The removal of children from their billets by parents on the impulse of the moment.

- c. A certain number of hosts were not prepared to make sacrifices by accepting the heavy extra work entailed and by giving up their freedom.

- d. Public opinion was influenced against the scheme by those people who did not wish to cooperate, whilst the people who believed that it was workable did not express themselves strongly enough.



e. No central authority was appointed in reception areas to deal with the problems which arose, to give a lead to the parents and hosts who were uncertain in their attitude, and to make active propaganda to influence public opinion in favor of the scheme.

3. As to the apportionment of responsibility for the individual cases of failure, it was found that 60 percent of the parents were to blame for bringing their children home without justifiable cause, 30 percent of the hosts sent the children away because they did not wish to cooperate, and a mere 10 percent of the children returned because they were naughty or fretting.

4. The evacuation scheme made clear that the general standards of cleanliness and hygiene leave much to be desired, and the appreciation of the value of education is much lower in a certain group of the population than might have been supposed. . . .

5. If the authorities concerned had used the services of tutors qualified in medical psychology, or carried out a short research before the scheme was drawn up, a great many of the mistakes would have been avoided. . . .

6. The investigation has also shown that a great number of our children suffer from enuresis and are treated wrongly. It is therefore high time that research on a large scale should be started to find out its causes and to recommend effective remedies.

The conclusions arrived at as the result of the enquiries outlined in the present report are, in general, reassuring. So far as there have been break-downs in the evacuation scheme the administrative machinery would appear to be at fault, rather than any fundamental weakness in the ties which bind our community together, or absence of public spirit on the part of hosts or parents of evacuated children. It may, in the first place, be assumed that the majority of hosts could be persuaded, if approached in the right way, to take evacuees again without compulsion, provided that they could be assured that certain mistakes in the first evacuation scheme would not be repeated, the most important assurances to this end being that only clean children would be billeted and that parents would not be allowed to take their children home for trivial or unsatisfactory reasons.

From the material gathered it seems clear that many of the difficulties encountered could have been avoided if there had been a central authority in each district ready to offer advice on all difficult problems, particularly psychological problems of behavior as well as the more obvious ones relating to material needs. . . . All through the enquiry the fact emerged again and again that if there had been some properly qualified person in the reception areas armed with authority to advise or to deal with the problems that arose a great number of the difficulties would have been smoothed out and the children allowed to remain in the "safe" areas. It was suggested in the preliminary report that a trained social worker in each area could have performed services of infinite value, and this conviction was greatly strengthened by the findings of the final enquiry.

The difficulties in the reception areas were, in the main, left to be solved by



local voluntary committees, assisted in most districts by Women's Voluntary Services. The achievements of the workers associated with these bodies deserve the highest praise; what is remarkable is, not that they achieved little, but that they achieved so much. . . . It is obviously impossible, however, for anyone but a trained and experienced social worker who shares the knowledge and the skill of, say, the hospital almoner or the probation officer, to deal with the acute situation presented by the evacuation of so many of the members of what has been termed, inaccurately but graphically, the "social problem group."

*The Cambridge survey.*—A second study of the success of evacuation was made in December, 1939, and, though the final report is not out, the study may be referred to here. It was an inquiry, conducted in Cambridge by a special committee under the chairmanship of Dr. Susan Isaacs, into the consequences of the evacuation, particularly those affecting the children themselves. The committee wanted to find out how far a satisfactory relationship had been established between evacuated children and their foster-parents and to investigate the causes of such unsatisfactory adaptations as were found. Details of the study cannot be given in this report because of lack of full details. A preliminary report, however, stated:

1. On information obtained from inquiry cards and other sources, the satisfactoriness of the relationship of each child to his foster parent was assessed on a five-point scale. This relationship was found to be, on the whole, satisfactory, but less so for the older children.
2. The age of the foster mother did not seem to affect the satisfactoriness of this adjustment.
3. It seemed not to be adversely affected by frequent visits from the real parent.
4. The presence of the child's own brothers and sisters in the billet was found to be very favorable to a satisfactory adjustment.
5. The presence of other children (Cambridge children or evacuees) was found to be relatively unimportant to the boys, but more favorable to a good adjustment for the girls than was complete isolation from other children.
6. Aggressiveness and delinquency appeared to be the types of behavior trouble most disturbing to this adjustment.
7. Difference of I.Q. appeared to be of no importance in determining the satisfactoriness of adjustment to the conditions of billeting.

In March, 1940, in view of the fact that the government had issued a new evacuation scheme, the Cambridge Research Committee, after considering the data from the Cambridge survey and other evidence, prepared a series of recommendations on evacuation. The

main recommendations relate to practices which would affect the success of any future scheme. They are as follows:

1. Members of the same family should be sent to the same district.
2. School units should be maintained as far as is practicable. This provision is particularly desirable in the case of selective central, secondary, and technical schools.
3. Certain facts should be obtained about each child before evacuation, and these should be conveyed to the receiving authority.
4. Parents' visits to children should be encouraged by granting special facilities for travel.
5. In all evacuating areas, centers should be available where parents whose children have been sent away should be able to consult social workers about the welfare of their children and about other family matters connected with evacuation.
6. Two types of helpers should be appointed by and responsible to the evacuating authority.
7. Two types of professional social workers should be appointed by and responsible to the receiving authority.
8. The billeting officer should in every case be an individual who has special knowledge of the needs of children and of local social conditions, and the method of appointment should be regularized to meet this requirement.
9. In reception areas certain additional facts should be obtained about prospective foster homes.
10. In addition to foster homes, there should be provided in each reception area: (a) A temporary hostel; (b) emergency and observation homes; (c) a home or homes for difficult children.
11. Billeting officers should be advised of certain considerations to be borne in mind when placing individual children in foster homes.
12. Receiving authorities should provide a place where parents can meet their evacuated children.
13. Preparation for the recreation of evacuated children should be made by the appropriate organizations before their arrival.
14. Prospective foster parents should be informed of their rights in regard to compensation for dilapidation.

#### JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

Reports from the Home Office indicate that delinquency, among children particularly, is "on the upgrade." Comparison of figures for indictable offenses in 1939 and 1940 shows that there was a marked increase among children under fourteen years of age and a smaller increase among young persons between fourteen and seventeen. Though the total number of cases of delinquency among girls was only a small proportion of the total number among boys, the

percentage increase among girls was greater than that among boys. This held true for girls under fourteen and for those between the ages of fourteen and seventeen. For young people from seventeen to twenty-one the increase was slight, and for persons over twenty-one there was a decrease.

It was believed at the Home Office that the increase in delinquency in the large cities was due to a number of factors and that the closing of schools after the evacuation, combined with the fact that evacuation was not compulsory, accounted for a considerable proportion. The placement of children in families where the habits of living and customs were different from those to which the children were accustomed was also felt to be an element in the increase in minor delinquencies among the evacuated children. Authorities in the Home Office felt that the present rapid development of the youth movement and the organization of youth recreation centers under the Board of Education would do much to help control the increase in delinquency.

The Home Office reported that the approved schools were greatly overcrowded and that plans were then under way to start a dozen new schools. To establish these new schools a number of large mansions had been taken over in which boys were to be placed in units of 100 to 150, but girls in units of only 30 to 40. One special school for girls has been started which is in the form of a hostel where the girls live and from which they go out to work in factories or in domestic employment.

Recent newspaper reports from London state that psychologists lay the blame for the crime wave in England on the "war-fostered hankering for adventure" and "the lack of parental control, due to fathers joining the fighting services, mothers working on civil defense or in war factories, and homes being broken up through evacuation or bombing." The press reports also that most of the offenses consist of housebreaking during blackouts or air raids, looting, shopbreaking, thefts from automatic machines, and stealing of bicycles. Industrial centers, particularly those heavily bombed, are reported to be "black spots in juvenile crime." The figures given by the Home Office tend to bear out these press statements, especially with respect to delinquency among children under fourteen.

With respect to the extent of moral delinquency among girls there

seems to be some difference of opinion. From a national leader in the field of girls' club work the report came that the problem among fifteen-year-old and sixteen-year-old girls near military camps and establishments was greater than many people were willing to admit and was present all over the country wherever the troops were stationed. Though there is considerable development of welfare work for the women in the women's branches of the military forces (the Women's Auxiliary Air Force, the Women's Royal Naval Service, and the Auxiliary Territorial Service), it is reported that the welfare workers with these groups were not thoroughly experienced in girls' club work and that they were not familiar with what was happening outside the military organization. The need for social and recreational clubs for young girls in the neighborhood of military camps and establishments is said to be known to local constables and probation officers. The need for the extension of the women police into these communities is great.

This latter opinion was also expressed by an experienced woman police officer in London, who reported that there is inadequate provision of women police in many of the cities in the provinces as well as in London. This policewoman was of the opinion that there is less commercialized vice in England during this war than in the last war. This is particularly due, in her opinion, to the fact that petrol is so limited.

Prostitution is not a crime in England. Only when solicitation is carried to the point of annoyance can the prostitute be arrested. She cannot be brought in on the ground that she is infected with venereal disease. The opinion was expressed that the problem of social protection of girls should be met by women police working together with other social workers.

It was the opinion of this woman police officer that the problem of protection of young girls near military establishments is now a small-town problem. She felt that the inclusion of women and girls in the military forces (the Women's Auxiliary Air Force, the Women's Royal Naval Service, and the Auxiliary Territorial Service) has had a favorable effect upon the social attitudes of the military organizations. Recreational activities developed for the women have tended to raise the general standard of recreation in the forces for the men,

and often recreational activities are developed to reach both the men and the women.

This latter point was confirmed by the commandant of the Women's Auxiliary Air Force, who indicated that the men and women of the Royal Air Force work together satisfactorily and have many recreational activities in common. There is active competition between them in various games, and the men of the Royal Air Force take pride in the skills and competence of the women in the force. The commandant stated that there was very little immorality among the women in the Royal Air Force. Delinquent girls or women are not tolerated in the force. It was the opinion of the commandant that there was relatively little prostitution in the neighborhood of the Royal Air Force establishments where girls were in the forces.

With respect to the shelters, it was reported by the London woman police officer that there was much exaggeration in the reports of moral delinquency among young people seeking refuge in large shelters. This viewpoint was confirmed by other social workers. The need for youth recreation centers and hostels and club work in connection with shelter life was stressed. The woman police officer pointed out that excellent work was being done in clubs for boys and girls and in evening institutes and classes that are being established in shelters under the auspices of the London Youth Committee. There is still further need, in her opinion, for development of this program, since conditions in a few of the centers are not good. Women police visit the shelters regularly and aid the wardens and marshals in handling some of the problems among the young people.

#### YOUTH RECREATION CENTERS

On November 27, 1939, a circular (1486) was issued by the Board of Education describing the appointment of the National Youth Committee to advise the president of the Board of Education and the organization of a special branch of the Board to administer grants to local authorities for the maintenance and development of youth recreation facilities. The National Youth Committee includes members of local education authorities and voluntary organizations and others competent to speak on behalf of industry, medicine, and physical training. The purpose of the committee, as described in the

Board's circular, is to provide central guidance and leadership to the youth movement throughout the country. The committee is advised by the Standing Conference of Juvenile Organisations (representing thirteen national organizations).

The program is intended to serve boys and girls between the ages of fourteen and twenty, especially those who have ceased full-time education. The circular pointed out that considerably less than half the boys and girls of these ages belonged to any youth organization in England. In some parts of the country, clubs and other facilities for social and physical recreation were almost nonexistent. The war has emphasized this defect in the social services and indicates that the blackout, the strain of war, and the disorganization of family life have created conditions which constitute a serious menace to youth. The development of the work of the National Youth Committee is an effort on the part of the government to prevent the recurrence during this war of the social problem that arose during the last. The National Youth Committee will have as its counterparts local youth committees representative of both the local education authorities and the voluntary organizations. For administrative purposes the local education authorities communicate directly with the Board of Education, but the National Youth Committee welcomes suggestions from both the local education authorities and voluntary organizations on any matters affecting youth.

The Board of Education makes grants of two sorts:

1. To national and local voluntary organizations. Under the Social and Physical Training Grant Regulations the Board is empowered to make direct grants—

- a. To national organizations to defray incidental expenses of organization and administration and also towards the training of leaders and instructors of youth work;

- b. To local voluntary bodies for the provision or maintenance of social and recreative facilities for young people; these grants cover such items as leaders' salaries, rent of premises, and equipment.

2. To local education authorities. Under Section 86 of the Education Act, 1921, as amended by the Physical Training and Recreation Act, 1937, the local education authorities have power themselves to provide and maintain, or by cash grant to aid suitable local voluntary bodies to provide and maintain, social and recreative facilities for youth.



The approved expenditure incurred by local education authorities in these ways is recognized for grant under the Higher Education Grant Regulations, the Board's share being approximately 50 per cent. The local club or other voluntary organization must report on its activities to the Board of Education, must have a proper treasurer, and must show audited statements.

In its circular (1486) the Board of Education indicated to the local youth committees that it was their duty to formulate plans to meet the needs of youth in their localities and recommended that the committees consider not only the use of leisure time but various social and economic problems upon which the welfare of youth largely depends. The committees were advised to outline plans for the development of new facilities. The circular points out that it is the task of the local youth committees not to conduct youth activities but to strengthen the hands of local authorities and voluntary organizations. Young people themselves should be encouraged to find through the local youth committees new constructive outlets for their leisure hours and for voluntary national service. Local education authorities may give the use of their school premises free or at reduced charges, and they may make special concessions in their evening institutes to local voluntary organizations.

The program developed under the National Youth Committee and the local counterparts represents an association of voluntary effort with that of the public authorities. Under the youth committees the traditions and experience of the voluntary organizations are joined with the prestige and resources of the local education authority. A circular (1516) issued on June 27, 1940, discusses the program of the Board of Education further, outlines the relation between the public authorities and the voluntary organizations, and makes suggestions for different types of organizations under the local youth committees, such as separate clubs or units, youth centers, recreational evening institutes, and emergency clubs. The problem of training of youth is also discussed, and the question of leadership is taken up. The circular was issued to stimulate enthusiasm for leadership and training. Under this program youth centers have been organized all over the country.



In London the program is developed under the Department of Education of the London County Council: Youth recreation centers are being organized in settlements and in many other social centers. Clubs are being organized in connection with the shelters, and great effort is being made to get large numbers of young people throughout the city to join one organization or another. It was reported that more than half the young people between fourteen and twenty years of age do not belong to any youth organization. The youth recreation centers are being developed in an attempt to meet this need.

In the shelters two types of work are being developed. First, a settlement or club seeks funds through the local A.R.P. to have its premises made safe so that they can be used as a shelter day and night. The Minister of Home Security has agreed to permit this to be done with the use of A.R.P. funds. The local community may pay 40 per cent of the cost or it may pay nothing. Bunks and bedding are provided if the settlement presents suitable plans for "sleeping the young people." Second, attempts are being made to get local authorities to provide special shelters or to give over one bay of a shelter, so that club work can be conducted for young people in the shelters.

Training for leadership in the youth movement is carried out through the use of grants from the Board of Education. The money may be used for local leadership courses conducted one night a week over a period of several weeks or concentrated into one week's time. Other types of training are carried on through the National Council of Girls' Clubs and other social service organizations. Social workers are being trained in schools of social work for group work. Club members are accepted also for training in a ten-week intensive course with residential experience for first-class candidates in settlements. This last type of training is a wartime measure. Volunteers are also being trained by trained workers in girls' clubs. The Board of Education itself is conducting short courses of a fortnight's duration for youth leaders and organizers.

Two organizations to interest boys in civil defense and in training for the air corps have been established, one called the Civil Defense League, for boys fourteen to eighteen years of age, the other called the Air Training Corps, for boys sixteen to twenty. In rural areas

the organization of Youth Service Squads has been developed for boys fourteen to eighteen years of age. Each of these organizations has been catching the imagination of boys all over the country.

It is believed that a comparable organization for girls should be developed. A Junior W.V.S. has been proposed, but there has been some opposition to this on the part of persons who do not want young girls to become a part of the "war machine" or, on the other hand, to be "pushed back into knitting and raising babies."

The National Council of Girls' Clubs has put forward a scheme for the consideration of local education authorities, youth committees, and other club leaders which would give an opportunity to young people to render service and learn the discipline of training. This scheme proposes a new organization to be called the "Service Cadets." The proposal, which was presented to the Board of Education in early March, 1941, is an attempt to present a balanced leisure-time program of service for girls or boys between the ages of sixteen and twenty years. The proposed plan of organization has been drawn up with a view to making the movement a permanent one in British national life. It is recommended, therefore, that every care should be taken to preserve the individual character of the service cadets and to give them as much background and stability as possible while encouraging service which is of a lasting nature. In the proposal the National Council of Girls' Clubs offered to assist the "Service Cadets" scheme in any way possible. A summer school to train cadets and leader-organizers is proposed, and a series of types of work is outlined.

#### CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS IN RESPECT OF THE PROTECTION AND WELFARE OF CHILDREN IN A CIVIL DEFENSE PROGRAM IN THE UNITED STATES

##### CONCLUSIONS

Observation and study of the many and drastic steps that have been taken in England to provide protection to children and mothers under the government's civil defense program lead to the following general conclusions in respect of any application to the United States.

Preparation for adequate protection of children in a civil defense

program requires not only advance planning for a program of action when emergency arises but active preparation so that communities shall understand the situation with which they may be faced in an emergency and shall foresee the problems that may appear and take the steps necessary to supplement their existing facilities and services if the needs of children are to be met should emergency come and train in advance the necessary personnel, professional and volunteer.

Advance preparation for maternity care and protection of children does not mean just inventories and paper planning but the actual provision and equipment of facilities and services needed to meet the situation. Experience in England has demonstrated this in many ways. For instance, the delay of the British government in providing funds with which to make available and equip the necessary maternity homes, residential children's nurseries, and hostels for children prior to evacuation resulted at the start in inefficient handling of the maternity program and in a great dearth of places for care of young children and hostels for school children who for various reasons should not have been placed immediately in private households. Many of the problems faced at the time of the first evacuation could have been avoided had the authorities made available funds for advance preparation. Again and again this point was made by responsible government officials of the Ministry of Health and others concerned with the broad plan of care for children.

The relative inadequacy in the United States of facilities and services for child health and welfare and maternity care, especially in small cities, towns, and rural areas, and the greater distances between cities and potential reception areas make our problem of planning for the protection of children a far greater one even than that encountered in England.

Advance planning, advance preparation, and advance training of personnel should be undertaken at once. Fortunately, no step need be taken that involves expenditure of funds (except those for part of the central planning) which will not contribute to the health and welfare of children in normal times; no step need be wasted effort, even though at the moment it must be directed toward defense rather than toward normal, orderly progress.

In making recommendations in respect of protection of children in the United States it is necessary to recognize, as in some other aspects of a civil defense plan, the interstate as well as the intrastate character of any scheme or program. The protection of children in an area under bombardment would call for the fullest use of the skills of professional workers and an even higher ratio of workers to children served than under normal conditions. The desirability of adopting the general policy of thinning and dispersal of the population of an area of potential danger, when the object of attack or the seat of other disaster associated with defense, would appear to be axiomatic in any civil defense plan. The need for the thinning of such a population by the evacuation of those members not essential to defense or the maintenance of the life of the community and for the establishment of certain priority groups, including children, would appear to be equally obvious.

Whether complete or partial evacuation of a city or group of communities will ever be necessary in the United States cannot be foreseen at this time. To have plans available for the use of state and local authorities would reassure citizens and parents who are now concerned that in case of danger children be given every protection and an opportunity to go to a place of safety. Plans would be needed to meet a number of different situations, such as a planned voluntary evacuation over a period of two or three weeks with continuous orderly migration thereafter, or a sudden larger evacuation precipitated by some acute emergency.

Planning for protection of children in the critical defense areas is of more immediate concern and should receive increasing attention as the number and extent of the areas grow. The conditions under which children live in these great areas should be a matter of concern to all the nation.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS<sup>8</sup>

It is therefore recommended:

I. That a plan be developed by a governmental authority with the participation of other appropriate government agencies for the pro-

<sup>8</sup> These recommendations were made at the time this report was submitted to the War Department in April, 1941. A number of them have been implemented, at least in part, since that time.

tection of children in civil defense, which shall include measures necessary for protection of children in areas of potential danger from bombardment or other serious disaster associated with defense and measures for the dispersal and evacuation of children and mothers from congested areas at the time of attack or disaster.

II. That the authorized agency or agencies be empowered to seek the assistance and advice of responsible state and local officials and representatives of professional and other voluntary organizations having knowledge of available resources for civil defense and needs on a local and regional basis.

III. That the authorized agency or agencies be charged with the following responsibilities:

1. The designation of areas of potential danger and corresponding reception areas of relative safety.
2. An immediate inventory of resources for care and protection of children in case of bombing and evacuation, (a) in areas of potential danger and (b) in potential reception areas, such an inventory to include the existing facilities and services for health, welfare, education, housing, etc., and estimates for their necessary supplementation in preparation for meeting emergency needs.

The competence of localities to meet emergency needs must be assured in advance and must cover the protection of children from physical injury and from too great emotional strain, the maintenance of adequate feeding facilities, and the care and education of the children in case of evacuation or dispersal from their own homes.

3. The preparation of a detailed plan for evacuation of children and other priority classes, including
  - a) A statement of objectives, scope, major principles, policies, and standards to be observed in the operation of the plan.
  - b) The designation of official agencies to be responsible for carrying out the plan at federal, regional, state, and local levels.
  - c) A detailed presentation of those aspects of the plan that involve interstate responsibilities and relations such as transportation, housing, community organization, and standards of care in reception areas, including health, medical care, social services, education, recreation, etc.

4. The development of a practical plan to make prompt provision through the appropriate agencies for the essential supplementary services and facilities needed by states and localities so that they may prepare in advance for the protection of children and mothers in emergency, including
  - a) The strengthening of existing local agencies in areas of potential danger and potential reception areas and the creation of a mobile corps of physicians, public health nurses, child welfare workers, nutritionists, and other workers adequate in number and qualifications to supplement effectively the services to children and mothers in any community faced with an emergency beyond its resources.
  - b) The provision of additional facilities for training personnel, professional and voluntary, for care of mothers and children, and for making such personnel available on a flexible interstate as well as intrastate basis (see suggestions under Recommendation IV for types of training proposed).
5. An immediate study of
  - a) The distribution of physicians needed for the care of children and maternity patients in all areas of the country, with particular reference to the needs of areas of potential danger or potential reception of evacuated children.
  - b) A suitable plan for exemption from military service of physicians needed to provide these services and at the same time for recognition of their continuing contribution to national defense.
6. The extension in the immediate future of various community activities which will give widespread experience in the operation of types of work that will contribute to meeting emergencies both in areas of potential danger and in potential reception areas, such as
  - a) Communal feeding (hot lunches in schools or industrial establishments).
  - b) Summer camps for school children.
  - c) Vacation opportunities for mothers and young children in groups, or nursery schools, or day nurseries.
  - d) Organization of community social centers, nursery centers,

community household aids, such as communal laundries, kitchens, etc., in the management of which groups of householders participate.

7. Funds should be made available to implement the work proposed.

IV. That recruiting and training of personnel be given serious consideration in the immediate future.

It is believed that in order to provide in advance even part of the additional personnel that will be needed for the care of children and mothers in areas of potential danger from bombardment should attack occur, or in reception areas should evacuation of children and other priority groups be necessary, an extensive program of recruiting and training of professional and voluntary personnel is necessary.

It is recommended:

1. That short courses for training pediatricians and obstetricians in the principles of public health and in the organization of maternal and child health programs be established immediately and that physicians trained and experienced in pediatrics and obstetrics be encouraged to take such courses to equip themselves to participate more effectively in an emergency program should need arise.
2. That facilities for training public health nurses be extended at once, as follows:
  - a) A full course of public health training (nine months) to one thousand additional nurses during the coming year.
  - b) Two quarters or one semester to at least two thousand additional nurses within the next year.
  - c) Additional training in the next two years to provide for a doubling of the present number of public health nurses.
3. That arrangements be made for the employment and introductory training during the coming year of at least one thousand graduate nurses as clinic nurses in the maternal and child health program or, after a period of introduction in a visiting-nurse association, as assistant nurses under the supervision of a qualified public health nurse, with the understanding that training in public health nursing shall be made possible at a later date if the candidate can qualify.
4. That immediate plans be made to organize a civil nursing reserve of volunteers who have taken a general course in first aid and



home nursing and have had a period of not less than fifty hours' experience in a hospital learning the fundamentals of bedside care. Two special courses should be offered:

- a) A course for training volunteer children's nursing aids to assist in hospitals or convalescent homes for children, in child health clinics, in school medical services, etc.
  - b) A course for training volunteer aids to public health nurses.
5. That facilities for special child welfare service training and experience be extended at once with a view to training two hundred additional workers during the year beginning July, 1941, through
- a) Nine months' training in a school of social work for a hundred persons qualified for admission to such schools.
  - b) Six months' special training in a school of social work in child welfare and in group work for a hundred persons with some training and experience in social work.
6. That immediate plans be made to organize a child care volunteer reserve of volunteers to be known as child care volunteers who have taken a specified course in child care and have served not less than sixty-five hours in a nursery school, a child health clinic, or a child-caring agency.

The courses offered should include:

- a) A general course to equip volunteers to help with children in emergency situations, such as first-aid posts, rest centers, transport, and emergency feeding centers.
  - b) An additional course, or courses
    - (1) To equip volunteers to aid, under professional supervision, in organization and staffing of nursery centers or schools (residential or day), hostels, camps, and other places of congregate care for special groups of children.
    - (2) To serve, under professional supervision, as community helpers and visitors to children placed in individual foster-homes.
    - (3) To give service in community social centers and other group activities.
7. That facilities be provided to train communal feeding aids. The courses offered should include:
- a) A general course in nutrition.

- b) A special course in group or communal feeding with special emphasis on school meals, canteen organization, and management in emergency services.

V. That steps be taken to organize a body of volunteers that will co-ordinate all existing voluntary organizations of women and others so far as they are concerned with matters of civil defense and that will have as its primary purpose service to government agencies—local, state, and federal—in carrying out the civil defense program.

It is believed that the successful prosecution of a plan for the protection of children in a civil defense program would require not only the efforts of responsible government agencies but also the assistance that would be obtained through the organization of a responsible voluntary body of women to serve the government authorities in carrying out their civil defense plans, especially as they relate to the protection of children, and the utilization of women in civil defense activities and in training for such activities.

U.S. CHILDREN'S BUREAU  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

## PROPOSALS FOR REORGANIZATION OF UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION AND THE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

WILLIAM HABER

### IMPACT OF WAR AND POST-WAR PROBLEMS UPON EMPLOYMENT SECURITY PROGRAM

PROPOSALS for the revision and reorganization of the present system of employment security, urged for some time, must now be examined in relation to the requirements imposed by a war economy and the subsequent adjustments of the post-war period. There are good reasons for a basic reorganization of our unemployment compensation program and of our public employment service even under normal conditions. The shortcomings of our legislation in relation to its primary objectives are well known, and the need for some basic changes is definitely indicated. However, it might have been proper to insist that, because the undertaking was relatively new, more experience was necessary and that, since there was considerable disagreement as to the specific changes which ought to be made, proposals for revision should be examined carefully and instituted only over a long period of time. Such reasoning is less tenable today. For the employment security system must be examined, not only as to its soundness and adequacy under normal conditions, but especially as to its capacity to function under conditions of a war economy and particularly in relation to post-war unemployment.

The employment security program includes more than an arrangement to provide insurance benefits to workers involuntarily unemployed. That is but one phase of the undertaking. It provides also for the organization of the labor market and for the closest possible co-ordination between the placement activities of the employment service and unemployment compensation. When the demand for labor is active, as at the present time, the major emphasis of the employment security program is on job placements; labor-supply in-

ventories are sifted for unemployed workers to fit labor demands. When employment is on the decline and opportunities of placements decrease, the emphasis shifts to payment of benefits. Thus, from an administrative, as well as from a functional, point of view the employment service and unemployment compensation are not easily separable.

During the past year we have been, and for the duration of the war we shall be, concerned with the organization of the labor market; and the test of the success of the United States Employment Service will be measured by its effectiveness in marshaling our labor-supply resources to serve the national objectives during the war and in the period of post-war readjustments.

The problems of unemployment compensation which seemed important a year ago—problems concerned with the duration of benefits, the extent of coverage, and the solvency of state funds, for example—are now subordinated. During the war the unemployment compensation system will be concerned primarily with the payment of benefits to workers whose unemployment is the result of normal turnover or is due to material shortages and priorities.<sup>1</sup> There will, of course, be other problems, dealing, for example, with compensa-

<sup>1</sup> The conversion of the automobile and other industries to war production late in 1941 and during the first few months of 1942 increased the volume of priority unemployment, particularly in Michigan. In recognition of the fact that the amount and duration of benefit payments in the state unemployment compensation laws were inadequate to provide for priority unemployment, a bill to appropriate \$300,000,000 for war displacement benefits was introduced in Congress early in February. This appropriation was designed primarily to make possible an increase in the weekly unemployment insurance benefits from the present rates in the state unemployment compensation laws to a maximum of \$24 and to extend the duration of benefits to a maximum of twenty-six weeks. After extended hearings, during which the proposal was attacked as (a) being unnecessary since the problem of priority unemployment was not sufficiently serious to require such action; (b) that the states were in a position to care for this problem without federal aid; and (c) that the proposal was a step toward the federalization of the present unemployment compensation system, the Ways and Means Committee rejected the bill on February 20 (see *Hearings before Committee on Ways and Means, House of Representatives, 77th Congress, 2d Session, on H.R. 6559*).

The proposal that the federal government appropriate \$300,000,000 to pay unemployment insurance benefits at the very time when the reserves accumulated to the credit of the state unemployment compensation funds exceeded \$2.5 billion is in itself significant. It indicates the belief that the state unemployment compensation laws were too restricted in their provisions for benefit amount and duration, that the state

tion for demobilized soldiers, protection of the benefit rights of men who enter military service, problems presented by the rising cost of living, assistance to families of men in the military service, and similar issues.

During the post-war period, however, the substantive features of our unemployment compensation legislation will assume vital importance. The weaknesses which were noted under the favorable conditions which prevailed from 1938 to 1941 will be even more striking in the post-war period. It would be shortsighted, therefore, to postpone consideration of these problems until the war is over. The structure of employment security must be strengthened now, if it is to be prepared for the demands it will face later.

#### A FEDERAL EMPLOYMENT SERVICE NECESSARY TO IMPLEMENT NATIONAL LABOR-MARKET POLICY

Federal operation of the United States Employment Service, announced on December 19, 1941, was a necessary step toward a more effective organization of the labor market. The problem of finding an adequate labor supply will be difficult enough; central direction of the vast national network of employment offices simplifies the administrative responsibilities involved.

While the labor force has been expanding, serious labor shortages—present and potential—are indicated in an increasing number of occupations essential to the war-production effort. Farm-labor sur-

legislatures would not move rapidly enough to provide for this problem, and that federal action was therefore deemed to be necessary.

Nevertheless, the measure was ill-conceived. Unemployment insurance is designed to compensate for involuntary unemployment, and little is to be gained by making distinctions between "normal" unemployment and some other kind of unemployment such as "conversion" or "priority." Whenever a system of insurance possessing a reserve of \$2.5 billion cannot provide for the unemployed, whatever the cause of their layoff may be, there is need for appraising the entire system rather than for superimposing upon it a special benefit scheme. Present concern with priority unemployment is in a sense a very genuine measure of our lack of confidence in the capacity of our unemployment insurance system to deal with unemployment in general. Great Britain has had fifteen years' unhappy experience with various devices, which in effect superimposed special benefit schemes upon the insurance structure. The war displacement benefit proposal involved in the \$300,000,000 appropriation request represented the first step toward a system of "extended benefits" or "uncovenanted benefits" or "transitional benefits"—all of which have played an important role in confusing the unemployment insurance program in Great Britain.

plus has to a large extent already been absorbed; mass shifting of workers from civilian to defense employment will be necessary; interstate migration, already of considerable magnitude, will be of increasing importance as the tempo of our war production reaches new heights. To meet labor shortages, bolder efforts will be required for retraining and dilution, for drawing women workers into defense jobs, and for absorbing the more or less immobile working force in the coal-mining areas and other places where unemployment still exists.

The magnitude of our war-production requirements, envisaged by the allocation of more than half the national income to this effort, indicates that we must be prepared for increasingly comprehensive control over the labor market. The experience of Great Britain suggests that our labor-supply requirements may make necessary the hiring of all workers for defense jobs exclusively through the employment service, reallocating workers and controlling accessions and separations. In Great Britain the control of hiring was at first limited to specific skilled occupations and was gradually extended to all forms of "essential" work; compulsory transfers of workers from nonessential work to war production<sup>2</sup> were also instituted. A system of labor priorities is already being instituted, and compulsory controls over occupational and geographical mobility and of turnover during the war are inevitable. Such measures can be carried out only on the basis of a national labor-market policy applicable over the whole nation, with variations when necessary to meet local conditions.

An employment service composed of forty-eight autonomous state systems was found to be but an inadequate instrument to implement a national organization of the labor market. Interstate clearance of labor, in spite of the most elaborate arrangements, worked imperfectly. Local hoarding of labor and localist tendencies and discriminations were difficult to overcome.<sup>3</sup> The creation of local labor pools easily defeats the efficient use of labor reserves for national purposes. Neither the local office nor the state employment service represents

<sup>2</sup> See Frieda Wunderlich, *British Labor and the War* ("Studies on War and Peace," No. 8 [New York: New School for Social Research, 1941]).

<sup>3</sup> See testimony of Ewan Clague in *Interstate Migration: Report of the Select Committee To Investigate Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens, House of Representatives* (House Report No. 369 [77th Cong., 1st sess., 1941]), p. 115.

a natural labor-market area; millions of workers live in one state and work in another. The full magnitude of the interstate employment of labor supply has not been fully appreciated.<sup>4</sup> As a result unnecessary and wasteful movement of labor resulted. Administrative drawbacks against an efficient organization of the labor market were also present. Incomplete territorial coverage, political turnover at the top, and the numerous governmental channels through which policies had to be transmitted—all these were definite drawbacks. Before national policies could be put into effect, endless negotiations and conferences were necessary to remove impediments.

For these reasons the establishment of a federally operated national employment service was an essential step in making possible the fullest use of our labor resources for the war effort. Its continuance on a federally operated basis is just as necessary for the post-war period. The national character of our labor market has antedated the defense and war problem. These have only brought out more forcefully the extent of our mobile population and the need for a national agency capable of operating across state lines, if an effective distribution of our labor supply is to be assured. If organized on a state basis, the efficiency of the employment service as a whole is controlled by the willingness or capacity of an individual state to develop a complete service. A national system, in addition to assuring greater territorial coverage, will also make possible greater uniformity of procedures and more simplified clearance arrangements.

In addition, post-war labor-market problems will be distinctly national in character. National labor-market policy will determine the magnitude and direction of post-war migration, the volume and nature of retraining, the provision of public work and relief. Then, as now, planning for demobilization, for conversion, and for transference will, of necessity, be national planning in line with the national objective of re-employment and readjustment. Shall work projects, for example, be set up in the new defense areas or in the areas from which the defense workers were drawn? Large labor surpluses have been drained away from economically declining

<sup>4</sup> *National Defense Migration: Second Interim Report of the Select Committee Investigating National Defense Migration, House of Representatives, December 19, 1941* (House Report No. 1553 [77th Cong., 1st sess.]).



areas. Shall post-war labor-market policy be designed to return them to these areas or to guide them elsewhere or to encourage them to stay where they are? Whatever course is to be followed, it must be obvious that only serious inequities and costly, as well as chaotic, labor migration would result if local practices and prejudices determine the handling of this problem, which is decidedly national in origin and result.

FEDERALIZATION OF EMPLOYMENT SERVICE INCREASES  
DIFFICULTIES OF STATE UNEMPLOYMENT  
COMPENSATION SYSTEM

A federally operated employment service does not make the operation of a federal-state unemployment compensation system impossible. Nor does it preclude the adoption of measures for strengthening the present system, such as a federal reinsurance fund or federal benefit standards. It does, however, introduce further administrative complications to the smooth working of such a system. For example, the advantages which have been secured by a full integration of the operation of unemployment compensation with the employment service during the last two years will be returned only with difficulty. An employment service exclusively responsible to a federal agency cannot also be responsible for the administration of an unemployment insurance system originating in state legislation and administered by a state agency. As a result, jurisdictional disputes between the state agencies and the Social Security Board—always a lively source of controversy—are bound to increase. It can be said, therefore, that the federalization of the employment service, which was necessary for other reasons, introduces complicating administrative relationships which make it more difficult to retain the present federal-state unemployment compensation system, even if it were strengthened by a reinsurance plan and federal standards.

SHORTCOMINGS OF PRESENT UNEMPLOYMENT  
COMPENSATION SYSTEM

Several serious shortcomings characterize the unemployment compensation system now operating in the United States. These must be corrected if unemployment compensation is to perform the func-

tion for which it was established. Their correction requires a basic reorganization in the substantive content as well as in the administrative pattern of the system. Unless these changes can be made now, the unemployment insurance system will be poorly equipped to meet the demands to which it will be exposed in the post-war period. Four major shortcomings stand out.

*First*, in spite of an almost embarrassing reserve of nearly \$2.5 billion at the close of 1941, many state funds face serious financial difficulties. The reserves of some states are in a bad way, even on the basis of the experience between 1938 and 1941. Probable demands in the post-war period, coupled with reduced income as a result of experience rating, exposes a considerable number of state unemployment compensation funds to the threat of insolvency. The total balance in the Unemployment Trust Fund has no significance from the viewpoint of the solvency of the system as a whole. It is not a national pool to be used for unemployment in any state. The risk of unemployment varies considerably among the states, and the ample reserves of one state cannot be transferred to meet the demands in other states. The funds vary considerably in size; on October 30, 1941, the reserves of three states exceeded \$200 million; in three others the funds available for the payment of benefits on that date exceeded \$150 million. However, the surplus of the states with the large reserve remains sterile; it cannot be transferred to meet the deficits of the states whose reserves are exhausted.

Since benefits became payable, the ratio of benefits to collections, including the sums collected during the first two years when benefits were paid, exceeded 90 per cent in three states; the ratio was over 70 per cent in fifteen states, and more than 60 per cent of all collections were paid out in twenty-seven states. In eight states the ratio of benefits to collections was over 70 per cent, even during the first nine months of 1941, when the national ratio was only 37.8 per cent. The probable financial experience of many state unemployment compensation funds during the first year of post-war unemployment can readily be predicted on the basis of these data.

In addition, it must be noted, the size of the large reserve in many states is, in part, at least, the result of the relatively low level of benefits generally prevailing and the relatively brief period

of duration which is provided in nearly all the state laws rather than in the tax features of these laws. Any liberalization in the benefit provisions of the state laws will further increase the danger to the solvency of the states with low reserves even under the favorable conditions of the past few years. This will be true for many more states under conditions of post-war unemployment. To remain solvent, some states will require a higher tax than others; since that will be resisted, the pressure will be directed toward lower benefits.<sup>5</sup>

*Second*, experience rating in forty state unemployment compensation laws has introduced serious complications. This is not the place to review the theory of experience rating—whether, for example, it can achieve the allocation of social costs by freeing the employer from a tax which he is assumed able to shift anyway. Nor is it necessary in this discussion to analyze the several critical issues concerning experience rating raised in recent years—whether the incentive device is necessary to encourage stabilization; whether, if necessary, it can or has already been justified as an effective method of reducing employment fluctuations; or whether, in fact, industries and establishments which have benefited from reduced rates are not really profiting by fortuitous circumstances, such as already being located in stable industries, or whether their “meritorious conduct” is not due to the defense employment boom; whether regularization in individual plants, without a broad attack on the entire problem of unemployment insurance is socially desirable or harmful; and whether a reduction in compensable unemployment, which is necessary to win reduced rates, is a sound measure of stabilization of employment. These issues have been dealt with elsewhere. One group of investigators holds strongly in favor of an incentive tax; another holds that such a tax has no place in unemployment insurance legislation.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> See, e.g., Henry S. Beers, “Financial Problems of Unemployment Funds during the Post-emergency Period,” *Economic Security Bulletin*, November, 1941, pp. 9-12, where the author concludes that to maintain solvency in the post-war period a lower benefit scale will be necessary in Connecticut in spite of a \$60,000,000 balance at the end of 1941.

<sup>6</sup> See, e.g., *Report of the Committee on Employer Experience Rating of the Interstate Conference of Employment Security Agencies* (in 3 parts), Vol. I: *Unanimous Report*;

Our concern here is not with the desirability of experience rating. Its incorporation in a system of unemployment compensation has shifted the center of attention from the payment of benefits to ways and means of reducing taxes. Its harmful effects, however, arise from the reintroduction of interstate differences in costs, the added threat to the solvency of state funds, and the complex administrative problems it has created.

Experience rating defeats the original objective of a uniform tax falling equally upon all covered employers in all states. Since there are no standards for benefit payments among the states, there is real danger of competition among the states to reduce tax rates so that employers in any one state will not be placed at a competitive disadvantage. American experience with workmen's compensation for industrial accidents clearly indicates that fear of interstate differences in costs will retard adequate benefit standards for many years.

The threat to the solvency of the state funds arises from the fact that experience rating makes possible substantial rate reductions in all states; in six states contributions cease altogether. Rate increases do not go above 4 per cent in any state. Safeguards have been provided in about half of the states against the possibilities of depleting the funds. In spite of these methods, however, lower rates will still endanger the capacity of many funds to make payments during periods of mass unemployment. Experience rating makes it less possible to build up reserves in prosperous years for disbursement in years of depression. Other undesirable results, important as they are, do not compare with the increased threat to solvency introduced by experience rating or with the fact that, because of this threat and the method of its operation, experience rating will be responsible

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Vol. II: *Majority Report*; Vol. III: *Minority Report* (September, 1940); Elizabeth Brandeis, "The Federal Threat to State Progress in Unemployment Compensation," *American Labor Legislation Review*, December, 1940; Paul A. Raushenbush, *Federalization Threatens Experience Rating and State Laws* (October, 1941); C. J. France, "Basic Fallacies in Merit Rating," *Social Security*, 1941, pp. 60-71; Charles V. Kidd, "The Issue of Merit Rating in Unemployment Compensation," *Social Security*, 1940, pp. 56-62; Herman Feldman and Donald Smith, *The Case for Experience Rating in Unemployment Compensation* (1939); Richard A. Lester and Charles V. Kidd, *The Case against Experience Rating in Unemployment Compensation* (1939).

for delaying the establishment of more adequate benefit standards.<sup>7</sup> Its dangers are sufficiently serious to justify its removal from this legislation.

*Third*, it may readily be recognized that unemployment insurance is a limited form of benefit and is not designed to make payments to all the unemployed during the entire period of unemployment. It must also be accepted, however, that if, because of the reliance upon the pay-roll tax or upon too close a relationship between benefits and earnings, a considerable proportion of the workers are excluded from the protection of the law or if the benefit scale and its duration make it necessary for a substantial proportion of those who are paid benefits to look to the relief authorities for supplementary assistance, the compensation plan is only partly successful. The experience with coverage, benefit, and duration indicates that this is true under the advantageous conditions of operation which have prevailed thus far. The coverage provisions are too restrictive; the average duration of unemployment is much longer than the duration of benefits; a very large proportion of insured workers are exposed to a great amount of uncompensated unemployment; a considerable proportion of insured workers receive low weekly benefits.

These shortcomings are especially obvious in relation to the requirements of the post-war period. The essential requirements are a benefit scale sufficient for the worker to maintain himself and his family without need for supplementary aid and a period of duration long enough to carry a vast majority of workers through their entire period of normal unemployment.<sup>8</sup> The present program falls far short of satisfying these requirements; these cannot be met under the present methods of financing the insurance program or on the basis of the principles underlying the compensation system as a whole. To provide a first line of defense for post-war unemployment the compensation plan should be extended to bring in many groups now

<sup>7</sup> See, e.g., *A Stab at Merit Rating* (Michigan Manufacturers Association, Bull. 1345 [December 30, 1941]) wherein the proposal of the Michigan Unemployment Compensation Commission to increase weekly benefits and benefit duration is opposed because such steps would endanger experience rating.

<sup>8</sup> See E. W. Bakke, "Back to First Principles in Unemployment Insurance," *Social Security*, 1939, pp. 121-32; and "Basic Tests of the Adequacy of Unemployment Insurance," *Social Security*, 1941, pp. 105-13. Also E. J. Eberling, "The Social Inadequacies of the Unemployment Insurance Program," *Social Security*, 1941, pp. 42-51.

excluded; its benefit provisions should be changed so that they provide an adequate benefit scale for a period of twenty-six weeks.<sup>9</sup> This cannot be financed by relying upon the present pay-roll tax; a direct government contribution as well as an employee contribution to the insurance fund is also essential.

*Fourth*, administrative shortcomings alone may not always be a sufficient reason for basic reorganization of an important public activity. These do not represent a major reason for urging the reorganization of the present unemployment compensation system. They constitute, however, an important weakness. It may not be too strong a statement to say that the present federal-state system violates about every principle of administrative management. There is an absence of clear demarcation of responsibility between the federal and the state governments; there is a considerable area of duplication and parallel performance of identical work; there is a serious question as to whether the state—and that is particularly true of the smaller states—is an appropriate unit for the administration of unemployment compensation. The 100 per cent grant for administration makes a high degree of federal supervision necessary and inevitable. Its supervisory control, however, has been resented and resisted; frequent jurisdictional controversies between the agencies at the two levels of government have absorbed much energy and time in negotiations and conferences.<sup>10</sup>

#### FEDERAL INITIATIVE IN REVISION INDISPENSABLE

Over a long period of time, progressive improvement will undoubtedly result in substantial liberalization in coverage and in the benefit structure. Considerable progress in these directions has already been made. The inherent limitations in the present system, however, indicate that many states are not in a position to plan the necessary liberalization of their unemployment insurance laws. The solvency of state reserves, the influence of experience rating, and the

<sup>9</sup> It is recognized that extending duration for twenty-six weeks may make necessary more stringent eligibility requirements. A twenty-six-week benefit period can probably not be justified for a relatively large segment of the labor force whose normal employment experience covers about twenty to thirty weeks per year.

<sup>10</sup> See Raymond C. Atkinson, *The Federal Role in Unemployment Compensation* (1941), for a very able analysis of the administrative relations between the federal government and the state unemployment compensation agencies.



probable drain of post-war benefit payments represent genuine obstacles to liberalization of state laws. Necessary improvements in the state plans can certainly not be made in time to prepare the insurance system for the post-war demands to which it will be subjected.

It may be urged that the inability of some states to act is not sufficient justification for revising the entire plan; that it was not designed to provide uniform conditions in all states; that, in fact, the adoption of the federal-state plan in 1935 was presumed to permit wide variations so that the states could provide for as generous benefits under as liberal conditions of eligibility as their finances permitted. It was never intended that uniform conditions prevail in all states.

The issue, however, is not between uniformity and variation in state legislation. The state plans are woefully inadequate; for a variety of reasons many states are not and will not be in a position to strengthen their legislation. Without some sort of federal action the unemployment compensation system will be ill prepared to meet the post-war unemployment problem. The issues deal with the substantive features of the legislation—with the availability and adequacy of benefits, with the provisions for interstate and multistate workers, with the strengthening of the reserve funds—and not with the administrative structure or with the particular pattern of federal-state relations. It is not a question of whether the states *ought* to do the job or of whether the federal government should do it, or even whether both ought to do it together. States' rights or centralization are certainly not the issues involved in the current discussion. The strengthening of the unemployment insurance system must be accomplished now and not postponed until the post-war problems are upon us.

#### ALTERNATIVE PROPOSALS: REINSURANCE, FEDERAL STANDARDS AND GRANTS-IN-AID

Proposals for the reorganization of the present system of unemployment compensation by providing either for (a) an outright state system or for (b) an outright federal system or some modification of the present federal-state system, such as (c) reinsurance or (d) federal standards or (e) a federal grant or subsidy plan, should be con-



sidered as alternatives which best strengthen the unemployment compensation system.

The proposal that an outright state system of unemployment compensation be substituted for the present plan can easily be dismissed. The nature of the problem of unemployment, the variation of the risk among the states, and the extent of federal responsibility for meeting the problem make such a proposal untenable, particularly at this time.

A federal reinsurance fund, financed either by direct appropriations from the general revenues of the federal government or by "contributions" from the states, would introduce, in part, the principle of a national pool, remove the threat of insolvency from many state laws, and thus eliminate one of the serious obstacles to more adequate and longer duration of benefits.

A reinsurance plan, however, is but a partial solution to the problem created by the financial limitations of the state unemployment compensation laws. Such a fund cannot possess the flexibility necessary to provide for the volume of unemployment which many states may have to face during the period of post-war readjustments. Its limits have been suggested in the proposal that the income be derived from the difference between the 3 per cent of pay roll collected by the federal government and the cost of administering the state systems. Even more generous proposals, such as diverting 10 per cent or even  $33\frac{1}{3}$  per cent of the state funds into a national pool will also fail to provide the necessary flexibility.<sup>11</sup> The magnitude of the post-war problem can be predicted only within very wide limits. Since maximum flexibility is desired, it can best be secured by a nation-wide pool available for the payments of benefits anywhere. Even a national pool, however, whose income is limited to a 3 per cent pay-roll tax will be inadequate to provide insurance benefits to all eligible claimants during a period of post-war unemployment. Other sources of revenue, including an employee tax and a direct contribution by the government, may also be necessary. A reinsurance fund would not correct the major shortcomings in the state systems; it represents but a halfway measure, possessing few of the advantages of an outright national pool and most of the weaknesses of the present federal-state system.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. the Murray Bill (S. 3365 [76th Cong., 3d sess.]) and the McCormack Bill.

Federal benefits standards have been urged as a method of correcting the large variation in benefit payments among the states and to provide for longer duration of payments. Such standards will also serve to protect the existing benefit scales from being weakened by demands for reduced contributions, either on account of experience rating or for other reasons. Such standards are especially necessary if a national reinsurance plan is adopted.

The adoption of federal benefits standards has been opposed on the ground that such standards would be premature, that our state benefit experience is too short, that state initiative and responsibility would be seriously impaired, and that federal action would tend to freeze our legislation into set forms and restrict experimentation. There is some merit in the contention that our knowledge about many problems with which federal standards would be concerned is inadequate. It is quite possible, however, for rigid lasting forms to characterize state legislation also. In fact, the forces opposing change and experimentation are far stronger in most states than in the federal government. The states have, in fact, done very little experimenting. The fifty-one laws differ in an amazing variety of detail. There exists a bewildering complexity in provisions relating to benefits, eligibility requirements, coverage, and other features "for which there is no sound economic or social justification." On important matters, however, they are surprisingly similar in spite of strong justification for variations as a result of very real differences in the labor market. Granting, however, that some states, perhaps even a considerable number of states, will eventually do more experimenting, there is still a responsibility of the federal government to provide an adequate system of unemployment benefits in all states. Federal standards do not preclude regional or state variation. Such standards, once set, can be changed perhaps with less difficulty than is involved in amending fifty-one separate state acts.

Nevertheless, federal standards alone will meet but inadequately the limitations of the present unemployment compensation system; in most essentials the present federal-state structure will remain intact. It would, however, become weighted down with additional, though necessary, federal controls and supervision. The slow and cumbersome process of negotiations, diplomacy, and divided respon-

sibility which has, in no small degree, been responsible for impeding progress of the compensation system thus far would still exist.

In view of the need for additional financing, a federal subsidy by way of a grant-in-aid to the state unemployment compensation systems has been urged. Such a subsidy could more quickly accomplish the objectives of reinsurance and federal standards. It would also preserve the federal-state system, and would automatically achieve an adequate benefit scale, since the receipt of a federal grant-in-aid would be dependent upon compliance with such federal standards. A federal subsidy plan has the advantage of flexibility—a quality particularly necessary in dealing with post-war unemployment.

Several methods for financing the unemployment compensation system under a grant-in-aid method can be utilized. The tax offset could remain in effect either at the present rate or at a lower or higher rate with provisions for additional funds from other sources. One proposal is that a fund of about 6 per cent of pay roll, divided equally among employer, employee, and the federal government, would be a minimum requirement to finance an adequate benefit structure. An employee tax can be justified by the greater security such a plan would provide. A government contribution has particular merit; the regressive effect of the pay-roll tax is partly mitigated. It would also make possible a benefit structure related to the needs of the worker and his family rather than one closely geared to past earnings. An employee contribution would also remove much of the justification for experience rating and thus overcome additional shortcomings of the present system. The federal grant-in-aid proposal would also call for the collection of all unemployment compensation taxes by the federal government, thus eliminating the duplication in the collection process now prevailing.<sup>12</sup>

One can readily recognize the decided advantages inherent in the grant-in-aid method. Its special quality is presumed to be in the fact that its adoption would still preserve a federal-state co-operative plan. State administration with all the advantages which may be claimed for it would be preserved: further centralization in the

<sup>12</sup> The grant-in-aid system proposed by the American Association for Social Security is outlined in *Social Security*, November, 1941, p. 6. See also *Social Security in War Time and After* (New York: American Association for Social Security, 1942).

federal government would be avoided. A closer examination of the grant-in-aid proposal indicates that some of these advantages are illusory. A grant-in-aid plan, particularly when coupled with federal tax collection and with a national pool, has in effect removed from the state most of the important responsibilities in legislating or in administering unemployment compensation. The tax-collection function would be taken over by the federal government; the employment service already has been; the standards of benefits, eligibility, duration, and other vital substantive aspects of the legislation would be determined by the federal act or by the federal administrative agency; personnel standards, administrative procedures, and reports would be similarly determined. Nor would this be usurpation of state prerogatives. The grant-in-aid principle, particularly in the form it has been proposed, in effect sets up a national unemployment insurance plan, based on a federal tax and a national pool. More particularly, however, in providing that the federal government collect the tax directly and also make a contribution from the federal treasury, the proposal in effect calls for a 100 per cent grant for all benefits to be paid by the state. Merely to return to the states 100 per cent of collections would be inadequate; 90 per cent of collections are returned at present. We have seen, however, that the principle of a 100 per cent grant, already in use for administrative expenses, makes it inevitable that the granting agency will require the most detailed sort of control over the expenditure of such funds. In effect, therefore, the grant-in-aid principle is very likely to increase the already difficult jurisdictional controversies between the state agencies and the Social Security Board. A grant-in-aid plan will achieve an improvement in the unemployment compensation system; it will not avoid, however, the alleged evils of federalization. It would, in fact, introduce new administrative difficulties.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>13</sup> It is significant to note that the supporters of the present system of unemployment compensation are equally opposed to any proposal which may result in increasing the interest of the federal government in the administration of the state plans. This opposition extends not only to federal standards but even to a federal grant-in-aid. See, e.g., the resolution of the National Association of Manufacturers, cited in *Economic Security Bulletin*, December, 1941, p. 1: "That there be no diversion of unemployment compensation reserve funds from one state to another and that there be no federal appropriation for the payment of general unemployment benefits"; see also Brandeis,

A NATIONAL UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE SYSTEM ESSENTIAL  
IN POST-WAR PERIOD

The case for a national unemployment compensation law is primarily economic and fiscal rather than administrative. Such a plan makes it possible to recognize the national character of the problem of unemployment and its varying incidence among the states. It recognizes that the individual states do not represent economic areas and that few have any control over the magnitude of the unemployment problem which occurs within their borders. It makes it possible to spread the risk over the entire country, thereby to equalize costs and to assure greater equality of treatment throughout the country.

These factors were just as true in 1935 when they were urged before the congressional committees considering the Social Security Act as they are today. In 1935, however, the question of constitutionality of a national unemployment compensation act was an important consideration. Even so, however, the President's Committee on Economic Security after indicating its support for a co-operative federal-state system, also said that "a federally administered system of unemployment compensation is undoubtedly superior in some respects" and that, if state administration develops marked inadequacies, "it is always possible by subsequent legislation to establish such a system."<sup>14</sup>

In addition to the removal of the constitutional doubt, it is now possible to draw upon a very considerable experience and a body of data not available in 1935. The factors which justified a national unemployment insurance plan in 1935 are even more significant today. The national aspects of our labor market, with its interstate migration growing out of our defense and war economy, have assumed increasing importance during the past years, and are likely to remain of considerable significance for a long time to come. Cer-

*op. cit.* Such opposition is inspired largely by the fear that experience rating will be adversely affected by the adoption of any type of federal standards. It should be noted, however, that in opposing every proposal for strengthening the reserves of the weaker states, quite apart from the effect which federal standards may have upon the benefit scale, it is in fact urged that the adequacy of benefits and the financial soundness of the state funds should be the exclusive responsibility of the states.

<sup>14</sup> Report to the President of the Committee on Economic Security (1935), p. 16.

tainly the problems which will confront the states during the post-war period will be the result of national policies. Many of these problems will require measures quite beyond the resources of most, if not all, individual states.

The proposal for a federal unemployment insurance plan to replace the present federal-state unemployment system is, therefore, not merely concerned "with methodology to the exclusion of the real problems involved in unemployment insurance."<sup>15</sup> On the contrary, important as the administrative advantages of federalization may be, the primary justification for a national plan is to be found in the greater probability that by approaching the problem from the viewpoint of the labor market as a national institution, the "real problems" of coverage, experience rating, benefit structure, interstate workers, and financing would be considered in relation to the requirements of an adequate system of unemployment insurance.

The pooling of funds would make possible more adequate benefits; national coverage could be extended to include the whole body of wage-earners; immediate protection for maritime workers would be possible only under a national plan; the inclusion of about three million wage-earners who are now barred by the exclusion of employers of one or more workers, could be facilitated by relying upon records of the federal old age and survivors insurance law which already include all employers, regardless of size; the provision of a direct federal contribution would make possible the abolition of experience rating; if incentive taxation is to be retained, only a national system can protect the financial base and the benefit structure from being adversely affected by such a tax; a government contribution would also correct the present regressive system of financing unemployment compensation; it would also make possible the adoption of a benefit scale related to minimum needs of the worker and his family and not so closely dependent upon past earnings.

A national system does not necessarily mean a more adequate unemployment insurance system. Many of these improvements might be accomplished by the adoption of federal benefit standards or by reinsurance. However, many of the improvements can be put into effect only by the federal government; only national action can

<sup>15</sup> *Social Security*, November, 1941, p. 6.



provide an economic and financially sound basis for improvement. Most of the necessary changes cannot be made by the states alone. Moreover, even for these changes which the state can make, a period of at least two or more years would elapse before they could be adopted and put into effect.

There are, in addition, several distinct administrative advantages of outright federalization. Unified tax collection has already been mentioned. Unified administration of pay-roll taxes, particularly when combined with a merger of wage records for unemployment compensation and old age insurance, is probably feasible only under a national plan. It would permit unification also with the railroad unemployment insurance system and would simplify the payment of benefits to interstate and multistate workers and the provision of benefits to maritime workers. Without proposing the elimination of the state as an administrative unit, a national unemployment insurance plan would permit more economical operating units, and the administrative costs could be substantially reduced. The problem of co-ordination with other social security, public work, and public relief programs would be considerably simplified. Finally, the establishment of a single responsible agency in place of a complicated network of agencies concerned with the problem would make for greater flexibility and readier adjustment to the changing requirements of the post-war period.

Quite apart from the political feasibility of federalization, there are several technical problems which require consideration. One of these concerns the disposition of the accumulated reserve in the Unemployment Trust Fund. These are state funds, merely "on deposit" in the federal treasury. Definite legal obstacles stand in the way of their transfer to the federal government to form a reserve for payment of benefits under a federal unemployment insurance plan. In many state laws there are provisions for returning the accumulated funds to the original contributors whenever the state plans cease to operate. Such acts would need to be amended to effect a transfer. In the main the problem is a technical one. These funds were collected for one purpose—to pay unemployment compensation benefits. The states can use them for no other purpose. The federal government would undertake to disburse these funds for the



identical purpose for which they were collected. If necessary, the tax offset could be discontinued as of a specific date and the payment of federal benefits could begin after the state funds have been used. It is also possible to devise a federal unemployment tax which is higher the first year than in subsequent years and which could during the first year be paid off in a lump sum by the transfer of the balance in the trust fund in lieu of the tax. These are obviously technical devices which may be necessary to change the legal ownership of the reserve. The use of the reserve would not be changed by such a transfer. The federal government would assume the responsibility of payment of benefits to the states' unemployed.

Other problems concern the administrative pattern of a federal unemployment compensation law and regional variations in benefits. There are distinct advantages to using the regional rather than the state plan of organization. A national plan, however, does not preclude the reliance upon the state as an administrative unit. Much more importance, however, could be attached to the regional unit than has been possible under the present system. A national plan need not decrease the importance of the local office in the administrative pattern. In fact, its importance under a national-regional-local plan may be enhanced.

The problem of regional benefit variations cannot easily be dealt with. The Fair Labor Standards Act is undoubtedly contributing to some reduction in regional wage differences. Nevertheless, substantial differentials still prevail, and a national unemployment compensation law may have to take these differences into account and allow for regional variations in benefit standards.

These problems are not insurmountable. In fact, since a national unemployment compensation plan is more sound from an economic and fiscal, as well as from an administrative point of view, the likelihood of a workable solution is considerably greater than under the present federal-state plan or under other alternative proposals.

## THE EFFECT OF WAR PRODUCTION ON LABOR STANDARDS

CLARA M. BEYER

SINCE the attack on Pearl Harbor and the President's appeal for continuous operation of plants engaged in war production, the question has been raised in nearly every state as to what adjustments, if any, must be made in labor standards in order to achieve continuous operation and maximum output. In the rush for all-out production many employers applied for broad exemptions from state law limiting hours, night work for women, or from weekly day of rest and Sunday laws. There was much confusion as to what relaxation of standards was actually needed, what relaxations could be administratively granted, what the War and Navy departments wanted done, and what action was being taken by the various states.

Responsible officials were anxious to make those adjustments that were proved necessary while at the same time preserving peacetime standards against deliberate attempts to break down or emasculate hard-won gains under cloak of the national emergency. It was also realized that, while long hours might be justified for short periods, in the long run, the established limits are sound and conducive to better results in production as well as in health and well-being.

In order to clarify the situation, the Secretary of Labor, on December 20, with the approval of the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy, wired the governors of all states to the effect that these two departments were not requesting blanket suspensions of state labor laws and were co-operating with the labor department in devising machinery to confine exemptions to specific cases where required for war production. This was followed by a letter to the labor commissioners, urging a unified policy in granting exemptions. Draft forms and procedure were suggested under which the employer submits a written application, the labor department makes an investigation and issues a written permit if found warranted, or, on urgent application, grants a temporary permit pending investigation.

The facts which the investigation should disclose include the following: whether the plant is already working a full complement of shifts on war production; whether the exemption is asked because of labor shortage which would prevent adding a shift or filling out a shift; whether the firm is training new workers; whether all available space and equipment is fully utilized on war production and if not, why not; what arrangements can be made to offset disadvantages caused workers by waiving hour regulations, such as additional pay, compensating time off, arrangements for transportation, etc.

At the request of a number of state administrators, the Secretary of Labor invited labor department officials from sixteen leading industrial states to Washington, on January 5, 1942, where they conferred with representatives of the Army, Navy, Office of Production Management, and Department of Labor concerning problems connected with the granting of exemptions.

The procedures recommended by the United States Department of labor were indorsed as in line with practices already being followed in many states. The discussion pointed up the need for examining each case on its merits and for exploring all possibilities of adjustment rather than relaxing standards wholesale. Some of the investigations made by state officials on applications for exemption showed no need for such exemption. For instance, the firm making the request was not engaged in war production or was utilizing only a small part of its facilities for war production; the firm was making no attempt to employ or to train more workers but had simply taken the easiest way—asking for an exemption from the hours' law. Often it developed that other arrangements could be worked out which made the requested exemption unnecessary or necessary only for a limited period or for special groups of workers. However, there were numerous cases where the immediate need for increased production called for temporary relaxation of state hour laws while machinery was being converted or new workers trained. The state labor commissioners recognized this need and expressed a willingness to grant permits for such relaxation when application has been made and the emergency need demonstrated.

The labor commissioners urged that the federal agencies concerned have a written, agreed policy with reference to state labor

legislation that could be circulated widely throughout the country. Without such a policy the advice given locally by staff representatives would continue to vary from plant to plant and from state to state. A draft of a proposed statement of policy along the lines advocated was examined by the state officials and approved as meeting their needs. This policy on state hour laws, concurred in by the War, Navy, and labor departments, was released by the Secretary of Labor on January 27, 1942. It reads as follows:

The President has said that unrelenting production is the price of peace with victory and to this end he has ordered all war facilities to proceed immediately on a 24-hours-a-day, 7-days-a-week production basis. Time is short and the President's command must be complied with now.

The challenge to our freedom can and must be met at once by heroic efforts on the part of management, labor and Government. Wherever and whenever local labor markets are exhausted, and pending conversion of nondefense machine capacity and workers and the training of new workers, men and women now on the job must keep every machine running continuously regardless of the sacrifice entailed.

Shortages in available labor in the critical days ahead require relaxations in accepted standards. But every effort should be directed toward shortening the period during which all-out production is dependent upon continuance of these relaxations. Industry must convert machinery and recruit and train labor as fast as humanly possible to assure early return to sound labor standards which over any protracted period are essential to the maintenance of maximum production. Any other policy would be shortsighted since ultimately the quality and quantity of our production would be seriously impaired. These standards are the mechanisms of efficiency. Industrial history proves that reasonable hours, fair working conditions, and a proper wage scale are essential to high production.

The grim period of adjustment will be short because management, labor and Government will cooperate. To this end management must immediately institute intensive plant training and upgrading of workers. Labor must intensify its efforts to make this training successful. Government must expand and coordinate its training programs to increase labor supply.

All labor resources should be utilized to their maximum efficiency, and in particular full use made of all qualified local labor. The United States Employment Service is the official recruiting agency for industry. Management and labor have been specifically requested to use to the fullest Public Employment Offices and should comply with this request. To this end Federal and State authorities must devote their entire energies, giving intelligent guidance and effective coordination to, and where necessary, supplementing the efforts of industry.

This all-out program of production requires the employment of all labor in accordance with those practices which will result in the maximum continued output of every individual. The sole test of labor standards must be the effect on the efficiency of the individual to insure top war production. Based on this test the State laws and regulations embracing the following basic principles should be preserved except where modification may be necessary during the war period to assure maximum production:

- (1) A maximum 48-hour week, since weekly hours in excess of this standard have been demonstrated to result in decreased rather than increased production when continued for any extended period of time.
- (2) An 8-hour day, or the daily hours customarily worked in the particular establishment, industry or community.
- (3) One-day-of-rest-in-seven, because experience has shown that this interlude has a revitalizing effect on the worker and a consequent beneficial effect on the total output.
- (4) Adaptation of the hours of labor and working conditions to the age and sex of the worker and the nature of the occupation.
- (5) Provision should be made for adequate meal and rest periods from continuous work in order to preserve health and efficiency.
- (6) Proper safeguards for health and safety go hand in hand with production efficiency and, therefore, greater care must be exercised in making plant conditions safe and healthful.
- (7) Wage rates for women should be the same as for men, including the entrance rate.

These standards must be relaxed if and when necessary for total war production. There must be no relaxation of standards governing employment of minors under the age of 16. At the same time there must be vigilance to prevent any unnecessary abrogation or suspension of labor laws and regulations. There is no occasion to engage in a blanket suspension of labor standards. It would be unwise to sacrifice, where sacrifice is not required, the safeguards with which the country has sought to protect labor. Social gains, not inconsistent with war needs, must be conserved.

It was agreed that the United States Department of Labor act as clearing agency on exemptions, receiving from and circulating to the state labor commissioners reports on the number of exemption permits applied for, granted, or denied, and also serving as a clearing agency between state labor departments and the various federal agencies on these questions. State labor departments have been requested to furnish periodic reports on a standardized report form to the United States Department of Labor.

The United States Department of Labor has compiled a picture

of the situation in the various states. Most of the states have already set up exemption procedures following the recommended pattern. In the few states which have laws that make no provision for variations, conferences are being held with officials with a view to arranging for exemptions through the emergency powers of the governor or to getting legislation where necessary.

New York has just enacted a War Emergency Dispensation Act, which may well serve as a model where legislation is needed. The law vests in the industrial commissioner full power to grant dispensations for a limited period "wherever required by and prudently consistent with the national and paramount effort to conclude successfully and expeditiously the war in which we are involved." The law provides for a procedure similar to the steps already recommended. Appeals from denial of dispensation by the Industrial Commission may be taken to the Board of Standards and Appeals, and the decision of that Board is to be final without further right of appeal to the courts. The Board may make its decision with or without a hearing, as it deems necessary.

The following standards are set up in the law to guide the commissioner in the exercise of the dispensing power:

- (a) In no case shall there be dispensation from any of the existing peace-time restrictions of hours of labor or types of labor for minors under the age of eighteen.
- (b) In no case shall any dispensation from the requirements of law be permitted for a period in excess of six months; unless reconsideration of all of the facts and circumstances of the particular case warrants continuance of a dispensation.
- (c) No dispensation from law may be given which does not safeguard health and welfare of the worker and which is not demanded by the necessities of adjusting state policy to national war-time requirements.
- (d) No dispensation under this act shall be granted to any employer outside of war work.
- (e) No dispensation under this act shall be granted to any employer in war work who can by utilization of available labor supply or by organization or other reasonable adjustments, maintain maximum efficiency and production without sacrifice of existing peace-time labor standards.
- (f) No dispensation may be granted under this act, except where necessary to prevent the peace-time restrictions of law from interfering with the paramount duty of maximum possible production in war work.

- (g) The Industrial Commissioner may, after hearing upon due notice, revoke dispensations not necessary to maintain maximum possible production in war work.

What has been the effect of speeding up war production on labor standards set by union agreements, and to what extent have these agreements, like the labor laws, had to be modified in the interests of increasing production?

The great bulk of union agreements in defense industries set the eight-hour day, forty-hour week, with time and a half for overtime, just as does the Fair Labor Standards Act. In addition, a substantial number of agreements, including many of those in aircraft, automobiles, electrical equipment, fabricated iron and steel, machine tools, rubber, and shipbuilding, require payment of time and a half for any work done on Saturday and double time for any work done on Sunday (outside of continuous processes and maintenance work), regardless of whether such work is in excess of the forty-hour week.<sup>1</sup> These latter provisions interpose a real barrier to seven-day-week operation of plants because they tend to prevent staggering the day of rest by imposing a substantial increase in cost.

Conferences were held, in January, 1942, in shipbuilding on the Pacific coast between representatives of managements, labor, and government agencies and a revision of last spring's master-agreement reached, which will permit the shipyards to operate seven days a week, twenty-four hours a day, with staggered shifts of workmen, assuring each individual worker one day of rest in seven. The new agreement provides for payment at straight time for the first five days (forty hours) worked, payment of time and a half for the sixth day, and payment of double time if, because of emergency, the employee is asked to work on the seventh day, his day of rest. The sixth and seventh days will not necessarily be Saturdays and Sundays but may fall on any day of the week. Since the unions gave up double time for Saturday work last spring, at the time the stabilization agreement was reached, the present arrangement represents labor's second adjustment to the needs of war production.

<sup>1</sup> "Overtime Provisions in Union Agreements in Certain Defense Industries," *Monthly Labor Review*, Serial No. 4.1288 (April, 1941) (Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor).



The building trades had previously agreed (July, 1941) to give up the normal double rate for overtime, Saturdays, Sundays, and holidays, in favor of time and a half, on defense construction work.

A number of union agreements have provided for vacation bonus in lieu of taking vacations, in order to make possible uninterrupted production.

Employers and unions have in numerous instances met to negotiate on questions concerning work schedules, job standards, and other matters affecting wartime production.

DIVISION OF LABOR STANDARDS  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

## PROGRESS IN ADOPTION LEGISLATION

MARY RUTH COLBY

**A**Doption was not known to the common law. The early adoption laws enacted in the United States during the latter half of the nineteenth century had some significant differences. In some states the adoption law followed the tradition of European civil codes which placed primary emphasis on the establishment of the heirship rights of an adopted child. In other states it was recognized that by adoption a new family relationship was to be established, and the laws in those states suggested that the court should, therefore, have an interest in the contribution adoption should make to the welfare of the child. None of these early laws, however, set up any special procedures to assure that the interests of the child should be protected in the proceeding.

The first social safeguards in adoption proceedings were embodied in the Minnesota law enacted in 1917. These provisions included: a social investigation made under the direction of the state welfare department; a required period of residence of the child in the home before granting a decree; consent by the state department to the adoption of a child who had no competent parent or guardian to consent to his adoption; and protection of all court records of adoption from public inspection. The most significant evidence of progress in adoption laws is the steady increase, especially during the years 1935-41, in the number of states that have incorporated these and other social safeguards in their adoption laws.

Many factors have contributed to recent developments in adoption legislation, including fuller knowledge of the real problems involved in adoption, co-operative efforts to further such legislation by agencies and groups concerned with the needs of children, and increased participation by state welfare departments in all services affecting the welfare of children. Since the enactment in 1935 of the Social Security Act, with its provision for federal funds to assist the states in providing child welfare services, already established divi-

sions or bureaus of child welfare in state welfare departments have been strengthened and expanded, and similar divisions or bureaus have been created by statute or administrative action in all the states that previously had little or no state services for children. It is the understanding and willingness of the staffs of these bureaus or divisions to undertake new services for the protection of children that have significantly affected the provisions of our newer laws.

#### SOCIAL INVESTIGATION

A social study or investigation of a proposed adoption offers one of the most important safeguards to the persons concerned in the adoption of a child—the child himself, his natural parents, and the foster-parents—especially when the placement of the child in the adoptive home has not been made by a qualified child-placing agency.

When the placement plans have been made by an authorized agency, it should be safe to assume that a careful study of all the circumstances has been made prior to the actual placement and that there has been a subsequent period of supervision during which the adjustment of the family and child to each other has been closely observed. But when a child has been placed independently of an agency or is related to the petitioners, little information may be available about the family seeking a child for permanent care in its home or of the child it wishes to accept, unless the adoption laws make provision for a procedure by which the court granting the petition may have the benefit of all available information to assist in arriving at an intelligent decision on the desirability of the proposed action.

Each legislative year brings changes in adoption laws, and at present (January, 1942) a social investigation of adoption petitions is required in thirty states and the District of Columbia, and at the discretion of the court such an investigation may be made in Maine, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, Washington, and Hawaii. Provisions authorizing social investigations were enacted during the years 1935-41 in the laws of fourteen states, the District of Columbia, and Hawaii; in three states such provisions were permissive.

In order to assure the quality of the investigation made, the laws of twenty-two states have given the state welfare department responsibility for making or arranging for such investigations<sup>1</sup> or have specified that investigations must be made by authorized public or private child welfare agencies.<sup>2</sup> In the District of Columbia and Hawaii social investigations are made by the official welfare department. It is interesting to note that twelve of the twenty-two states safeguarding the quality of the investigation enacted these provisions during the years 1935-41. In the remaining states,<sup>3</sup> the court may request a probation officer, an agency—including in some states the state department—or any suitable person to make the investigation. In at least three of these states a large proportion of the investigations are made by the state department or by social agencies.

The laws of three states providing for a social investigation permit the court to waive this investigation "upon good cause shown, when satisfied that the proposed home and the child are suited to each other," and the law of a fourth state allows the court to waive the investigation if a report of the investigation had not been made within thirty days after notice had been sent to the state department. Not since 1927 has permission of this kind been included in the provisions relating to a social investigation.

#### REPORTS TO THE COURT

The findings of the social investigation must be incorporated in a written report to the court if the full intent of the inquiry is to be achieved. The laws of all but two states, which enacted their laws a number of years ago, require a written report of the investigation to be submitted to the court. Although such a report would include

<sup>1</sup> Alabama, Arkansas, California (unless sponsored by an agency or stepparent adoption), Delaware, Georgia, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine (if requested), Massachusetts (unless sponsored by an agency), Minnesota, Nevada, New Jersey (or authorized agency), New Mexico, North Dakota, Oregon, Rhode Island, Utah, Vermont, West Virginia.

<sup>2</sup> Indiana (county department or authorized agency, but the state department receives a copy of all petitions), North Carolina (county department or authorized agency).

<sup>3</sup> Arizona, Iowa, Michigan, New Hampshire (permissive 1937), New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania (permissive), South Dakota, Texas, Virginia, Washington (permissive, 1939), and Wisconsin.

all the essential facts of the situation of the foster-parents, the child, and the own parents of the child and might clearly indicate the desirable or undesirable features of the adoption, added clarity is given to the report by a special recommendation as to the desirability of the adoption.

As there has been a tendency for one state to copy the legislation of another state, it is probably fortunate that the state first making provision for a social investigation of adoption petitions included a provision authorizing the state department to make to the court a recommendation as to the desirability of the adoption. There are now sixteen states<sup>4</sup> that require such a recommendation from the state department, nine states having enacted such provisions during the years 1935-41.

#### RESIDENCE PERIOD IN THE HOME

The advantages of a residence period in the home for both the child and the foster-parents before the final adoption is completed have long been recognized. The private child-placing agencies led the way with regard to this practice by refusing to grant consent to the adoption of a child placed by them until the child had lived in the home of the foster-parents for a stated period of time. In the first laws having such provisions a six months' residence period was specified, but later a number of states required a year's residence in the foster-home. Child-placing agencies are in a position to control the plans made for their own wards, but children who have been placed without the benefit of agency services frequently have been adopted before there was any assurance of satisfactory adjustment between the child and the foster-parents. Indeed, many adoptions had been consummated before the child had been in the adoptive home at all.

By the end of 1941 the adoption laws of twenty-nine states and the District of Columbia provided for a specified period of residence of the child in the home.

Before 1935 eighteen states required a residence period. A resi-

<sup>4</sup> Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, California, Georgia, Kansas, Kentucky, Maine, Minnesota, Nevada, New Mexico, North Dakota, Rhode Island, South Dakota (when the investigation is made by a public or private child welfare agency), Vermont, and West Virginia.

dence period of six months was specified in thirteen states,<sup>5</sup> and in all but three of these states the court, at its discretion, could waive the residence period. Following the precedent established by Virginia in 1922, five states<sup>6</sup> had required a residence period of at last one year following the granting of an interlocutory decree or order, during which time the child must be visited by the person making the investigation.

During the years 1935-41 residence provisions were incorporated for the first time in eleven states and the District of Columbia. A six months' residence period was authorized by the laws of three states<sup>7</sup> and the District of Columbia. A residence period of a year was authorized in seven states,<sup>8</sup> but a similar period proposed for Kentucky was reduced to three months by the legislature. Unfortunately, the residence period in Arkansas may be waived by the court, and in Maine the provision is permissive at the discretion of the court. Although the Indiana law also provides for waiver, its apparent purpose is to meet the needs of a child previously under care of an agency, as the law provides that no adoption shall be granted until after a year of supervision by an authorized agency either before or after the filing of the petition or both.

The laws of Kansas, Indiana, Louisiana, Maine, Vermont, and the District of Columbia provide for supervision in the home during the residence period. An interlocutory order is required in Kansas and Louisiana and may be issued in the District of Columbia if supervision is needed or desirable, but in Indiana, Maine (where supervision is discretionary), and Vermont the granting of the final decree is merely deferred. The need for flexibility in the requirement of supervision has been recognized in these laws as well as in a special provision enacted in Delaware in 1937. In Delaware and Vermont the state department may recommend that the final decree be issued

<sup>5</sup> Georgia (no waiver), Iowa, Massachusetts, Minnesota, New Mexico, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Rhode Island, South Dakota (no waiver), Texas, Wisconsin, and Wyoming (no waiver). In New Mexico the period could be shortened, but only after notice to the state department and a hearing thereon.

<sup>6</sup> Alabama, Arizona, Delaware, North Carolina, and Virginia.

<sup>7</sup> Arkansas, Kansas, and Nevada.

<sup>8</sup> Indiana, Louisiana, Maine, New Jersey (may be reduced to six months if desirable), Utah, Vermont, and West Virginia.

at any time if supervision is unnecessary. In Kansas a supplementary report must be made before the final decree is granted, but the amount of supervision given is at the discretion of the state department. In Indiana supervision of the home may precede the filing of the petition, and in Louisiana the court may reduce the residence period and supervision to six months if the child has been in the home for a year.

Supervision that consists of service and assistance to the prospective adoptive parents is of great value in protecting the welfare of the child. Since the need for supervision is a question of social determination, there are great advantages in giving discretion to the supervisory agency to decide on the need for continued supervision.

#### CHILDREN ADOPTED BY STEPPARENTS

The early laws were concerned primarily with adoption of children by persons to whom entire responsibility for the child could be transferred. Most adoption laws, therefore, provided that on adoption the responsibilities, rights, and duties of the natural parent or parents were terminated. As a result of these provisions, adoptions by stepparents followed the pattern of all other adoptions, the own parent jointly petitioning with the stepparent for adoption of the child and becoming his adoptive parent.

That this plan imposed an unnecessary change in a parent's relationship to his or her own child had been recognized before 1935 in the laws of California, New York, Ohio, Oregon, and Wisconsin by exempting the own parent in an adoption by a stepparent from loss of parental right. During the years 1935-41 similar provisions were enacted in the laws of nine states<sup>9</sup> and the District of Columbia. The value of these provisions should be more fully recognized, as stepparent adoptions constitute a significant proportion of all adoptions.

In a few states whose laws have failed to define the relationship of the own parent to the child after his adoption, adoption by a stepparent would probably not affect the parental relationship of the own parent, but in more than half the states the own parent must still become an adoptive parent.

<sup>9</sup> Arkansas, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Nevada, New Jersey, Pennsylvania (inheritance law), Virginia, and West Virginia.



CONSENT BY THE AGENCY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE  
INVESTIGATION

Many adoption laws, following the tradition of the nineteenth century, authorize the court in adoption proceedings to decide on the fitness of a parent to give or to withhold consent to the adoption. In event of such declaration of unfitness, the adoption may be consummated without consent by anyone. In most of the newer adoption laws, authority to decide on the fitness of a parent to give consent has been removed from adoption proceedings, although in some states a decision on abandonment is unfortunately still authorized. Death of the parent or parents of a child also resulted in an adoption for which no consent was given. The procedure first used to assure consent in every adoption was the appointment of a guardian *ad litem* or next friend authorized to give consent in such situations. Unfortunately, such provisions have often been looked upon as a legal requirement that could be fulfilled by anyone easily available in the court.

Sound procedure demands that consent to every adoption be given by someone who knows the child's situation and is interested in his welfare, whether this be his parent or parents, an agency having responsibility for his care, or an agency that has knowledge of his situation through a social study. In order to assure qualified consent to the adoption of a child whose parent or parents were dead or unable to give consent, provision for consent by the state welfare department in some or all such cases had been provided before 1935 in the laws of six states<sup>10</sup> in which the department had responsibility for social investigations of adoptions. Recent adoption laws in four states<sup>11</sup> have similar provisions, as the state department or the agency authorized to make the social study may consent to the adoption of a child.

## PROTECTION OF ADOPTION RECORDS

Under the early adoption laws, records of adoption were given no more protection than any legal records filed in the court where the action was heard. Not until 1917 was legal recognition taken of the need to protect these records from the eyes of curiosity seekers

<sup>10</sup> Alabama, California, Delaware, Minnesota, North Dakota, and Wisconsin.

<sup>11</sup> Kentucky, New Jersey, Vermont, and West Virginia.

and others who were without a legitimate reason for access to them. In the period from 1917 to 1935 six states<sup>12</sup> protected adoption records from public inspection, and the social findings of the court or the investigation were protected in Massachusetts and Texas.

Beginning with 1935, the need for protection of adoption records was much more generally accepted. During the years 1935-41 sixteen states<sup>13</sup> enacted legislation safeguarding court records of adoption. In addition, North Carolina provided protection for the report of the social investigation, and Pennsylvania and Tennessee authorized the court to protect the social records of children of illegitimate birth. In many laws, access to adoption records is limited to "parties in interest," except upon order of the court. This term is broad, and the decision on who might be a "party in interest" usually is left to the discretion of the clerk of the court or a deputy in his office. Some of the recent laws have narrowed the definition by permitting only "parties to the action" to see the records. Under this definition the records of an adoption in which consent had been given by an agency would not be available to the natural parents or relatives of the child.

Another improvement in recent laws is the extension of the definition of the term "records" so that it includes not only the files connected with the adoption proceedings but journals, indexes, and other books and papers relating to the adoption.

#### RESIDENCE OF PETITIONERS

Many adoption laws provide that adoption proceedings may be initiated in the jurisdiction in which the child resides or in which the agency having the guardianship of the child is located as well as in the jurisdiction in which the petitioner resides. Several states having such provisions have limited the filing of petitions to residents of the state,<sup>14</sup> whereas the laws of other states specifically authorize non-residents of the state to file petitions.<sup>15</sup> On the other hand, the laws

<sup>12</sup> Alabama, Arizona, California, Minnesota, North Dakota, and Wisconsin.

<sup>13</sup> Arkansas, Georgia, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Missouri, Nevada, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Oregon, South Dakota, Utah, and West Virginia.

<sup>14</sup> Colorado, Georgia, Indiana (1941), New Mexico, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Texas, and Washington.

<sup>15</sup> Kansas, Massachusetts, Missouri, New Hampshire, New York, Oregon, Tennessee (1937), and Vermont.

of seventeen states<sup>16</sup> require that all petitions must be filed in the county or town of residence of the petitioners.

There are obvious advantages in limiting the filing of petitions to residents of the county or at least to residents of the state. This is especially true when a social investigation is required, as more than one visit to the home during the investigation may be desirable. Some of the states that enacted new laws or significantly revised their adoption laws during the period 1935-41 had previously limited the filing of adoption petitions to residents of the county or state. Indiana and Kentucky added such provisions during this period, but Tennessee, which previously required county residence, removed this restriction in order to allow nonresidents of the state to file petitions.

Lack of protection of adoption records from public inspection has been a factor influencing the desire of prospective adoptive parents to file adoption petitions in jurisdictions other than the one in which they reside. The progress that has been made in safeguarding adoption records and in the requirement of adequate social investigations indicates the need for further extension of provisions limiting the filing of petitions to residents of the state or preferably of the county or other local unit.

#### CHANGES IN BIRTH RECORDS FOLLOWING ADOPTION

Although changes in birth records following adoption is the responsibility of the bureaus or divisions of vital statistics in the states, authority for such changes has sometimes been given in the adoption law. Because of the increasing demands for certificates of registration of births to prove age and citizenship in the United States, significant changes in birth-registration laws have occurred, and provision for changes in birth records on adoption are being rapidly added to birth-registration laws. Some of the recent adoption laws merely provide that the court shall send a report to the registrar of vital statistics, including such information about the child and the adopting parents as may be necessary for a new certificate.

There has been great variation in the procedures outlined in the

<sup>16</sup> California, Delaware, Florida, Idaho, Kentucky (1940), Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Rhode Island (town of residence), Utah, Virginia, West Virginia, and Wisconsin.

laws relating to birth records for adopted children. In the majority of the states, authority is given for preparation of a new certificate of birth or of adoption, showing the child's new name and that of his parents, the place and date of birth, sex, and such other data as are pertinent to his new situation. The original birth certificate is then placed in a sealed file, opened only on the request of the child, his representative, or on court order. In a few states the original certificate is amended and retained in the files. Another significant difference in procedures is the interpretation of the laws in relation to the place of birth and the place of adoption of the child. In some states the birth record is changed if both the birth and the adoption occurred in the state; in other states the record is changed if the birth occurred in the state regardless of the place of adoption; and in a few states a new certificate may be prepared, both for a child born in the state and for a child adopted in the state but born elsewhere, if proper documentary proof of such birth is submitted.

Before 1935 provisions for change in birth records on adoption of a child had been authorized in the adoption law or the vital-statistics law in seven states<sup>17</sup> and Alaska, the first of these provisions having been enacted by Alabama in 1931. During the years 1935-41 provisions authorizing changes in birth records on adoption or the issuance by the registrar of vital statistics of special certificates showing the child's new family relationship were enacted in twenty-nine states<sup>18</sup> and the District of Columbia. Provision was made also in the adoption law of Kansas and of Virginia for the court to send a report of each adoption to the bureau or registrar of vital statistics, but no authority has been given either in the adoption law or in the vital-statistics law for change in the birth record. It is probable, however, that some administrative plan may have been developed in these states for utilizing these reports in the preparation of certificates of age which would show the child's legal name.

<sup>17</sup> Alabama, California, Illinois, Michigan, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin.

<sup>18</sup> Arkansas, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Indiana, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts (an earlier provision was applicable only to adoption of children of illegitimate birth), Minnesota, Mississippi, Nebraska, Nevada, New Jersey, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Vermont, Washington, West Virginia, and Wyoming.

Significant progress has been made in making available to an adopted child an official record under his legal name showing his new family relationship and the basic facts about the place and date of his birth. But full protection of adopted children cannot be achieved until restrictive provisions in many of the existing laws are removed, and authority for change in birth records on adoption is provided in the twelve states that have no such provision.

U.S. CHILDREN'S BUREAU  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

## THE TRUE MEANING OF "PAY-AS-YOU-GO" IN FINANCING OLD AGE RETIREMENT

J. S. PARKER

**W**IDESPREAD misunderstanding of the true meaning of the term "pay-as-you-go" was one of the chief reasons why the 1939 amendments to the Social Security Act substituted a contingency reserve for an actuarial reserve, in spite of the fact that commercial insurance companies use *both* these types of reserves. The difficulties that arise from the loose use of a slogan or catch phrase are beautifully illustrated in the application of this term to the financing of old age insurance. The established meaning of the term comes from the field of public finance. There, "pay-as-you-go" means the payment for permanent public improvements out of revenues already collected, as contrasted with the floating of long-term bond issues to pay for these improvements. In public finance the purpose of pay-as-you-go is to minimize public debt and to avoid interest costs for the governmental unit and its taxpayers.

But the situation is different when we attempt to apply the same term to old age insurance. In this case the term means the payment of only those benefits which have actually become due to workers already retired and the limitation of tax revenues to the sums required for this purpose. Because rights to benefits are built up over a period of at least thirty-five years and because benefits are payable for an additional period with an average length of at least ten years, the true liabilities of a retirement system are greater than the amounts required for current benefits. The accrued and accruing liabilities are greater than the matured pension claims actually payable at any given time.

In old age insurance, then, "pay-as-you-go" means the refusal to recognize debts until they actually become payable. Common honesty and logic agree as to the futility of this childish procedure. The debt exists as soon as the promise upon which it is based is made—long before the debt matures. In old age insurance this practice

means the creation of huge hidden deficits, undisclosed either to the members of the retirement system or to the taxpaying public. In fact, the result of pay-as-you-go in retirement insurance is diametrically opposed to the result of pay-as-you-go in public finance: it means debt creation instead of debt elimination.

In public finance the advocates of pay-as-you-go usually stress the fact that taxpayers have to contribute an interest charge which often is as great as the original cost of the improvement, if bonds are floated. Munro's explanation is typical:

Having regard to the heavy burden and to the desirability of preventing a further increase in it, the advocates of the pay-as-you-go plan have been renewing their advocacy of that arrangement. They urge that virtually all public improvements be financed out of current taxes. They would include the construction of school houses, police stations and fire houses, as well as the paving of streets and the establishment of new parks. Those who argue in favor of the pay-as-you-go plan lay stress on the fact that every public improvement must ultimately be paid for by the taxpayers. The average voter does not realize how heavy this exaction is. When he authorizes borrowing for a new school house, let us say, at a cost of \$100,000 and spreads the bonds over a period of thirty years, it does not occur to him that this school house is going to cost him more than \$200,000 before he is through with it.<sup>1</sup>

The purpose, then, of pay-as-you-go in public finance is to prevent the saddling of too great a debt burden upon future generations. On the other hand, one proper purpose of borrowing for long-term public improvements is distribution of the cost equitably among those people receiving the benefits of those improvements which have a long life extending over several generations of taxpayers. Significantly, *both* these purposes are served by actuarial reserves in old age insurance. Collection of contributions during the productive years of the insured individuals provides the assets which meet later liabilities and which eliminate the piling-up of a huge hidden debt owed to pension beneficiaries. At the same time, the beneficiaries are assessed their proper share of the costs at a time when they have resources with which to pay—during their years of productive service.

When applied to old age insurance, the term "pay-as-you-go" is

<sup>1</sup> William B. Munro, *Municipal Administration* (New York: Macmillan, 1934), pp. 182 and 183.



a complete misnomer. The policy it is coupled with should really be called "owe-as-you-go" or "don't-pay-as-you-go." Either of these two terms is much more accurate than "pay-as-you-go" to describe the policy of collecting only enough taxes to meet pension claims as they mature.

When we probe beneath the term itself to the purposes for which this policy stands in public finance, we find these purposes actually accomplished in old age insurance by actuarial reserves rather than by a policy of "owe-as-you-go." At one and the same time, the reserve basis eliminates or reduces the concealed deficits of the retirement system and distributes the total costs over the proper time-periods, the productive lives of the individual members. This practice agrees with that followed in all sound pension plans of private industry and of commercial insurance, where the contributions of both employers and employees are paid at the time the employees give their services. This practice achieves the objectives of all level-premium insurance (whether privately managed or governmentally managed), which is to spread the cost equitably over the longest possible period of time. It is also sound accounting procedure, in complete agreement with the principles developed by accountants for the allocation of depreciation charges.

Accountants have used the principle of allocating costs to specific time-units for years in their procedures connected with the depreciation of physical property. Depreciation accounts are used "to apportion to the various operating periods an equitable share of the loss in value ultimately realized when fixed assets must be discarded as useless."<sup>2</sup>

This emphasis on distribution of depreciation costs over the productive life of an asset is prominent in all accounting procedure. The *Accountants' Handbook* quotes three eminent accountants—C. G. Jensen, David Himmelblau, and R. H. Montgomery—who stress the allocation of depreciation costs equally over a series of fiscal periods.<sup>3</sup> Practically all the standard accounting textbooks deal with

<sup>2</sup> Jacob B. Taylor and Herman C. Miller, *Intermediate Accounting, Volume I* (1st ed.; New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1933), p. 178.

<sup>3</sup> W. A. Paton (ed.), *Accountants' Handbook* (2d ed.; New York: Ronald Press Co., 1937), p. 577.

these time relationships. Hatfield, commenting on the ravages of time, declares that "all machinery is on an irresistible march to the junk heap" and that the lapse of time must be considered in the valuation of physical assets.<sup>4</sup> He insists that depreciation actually exists whether cash is set aside or not, to cover the depreciation charge.<sup>5</sup> He contends that depreciation charges are properly a part of the cost of production and "should be spread as an expense during the period of use, whether that be five or fifty years."<sup>6</sup> Kester makes a distinction between accounting depreciation, which is a matter of financial bookkeeping, and engineering depreciation, which is a matter of physical wear and tear.<sup>7</sup> Saliers, in his book on depreciation, defines depreciation in terms of time. He is emphatic in his insistence that the cost of an asset "is properly spread as a cost of production or service over its lifetime."<sup>8</sup> Bangs concurs with Saliers in the viewpoint that depreciation arises during the use of the asset and not solely when it is replaced, and correctly maintains that "depreciation exists whether or not cash is set aside to replace the asset when it is scrapped."<sup>9</sup>

These principles apply to human depreciation as well as to the depreciation of physical assets. Essentially, human depreciation is like property depreciation in its accounting aspects. There may be minor differences in the detailed methods of applying the principles. Of course, there is always full recognition that human beings are not commodities or articles of commerce. But with respect to factors which are pertinent to the reserve issue, the principles are similar. The necessity for allocating costs of retirement to the time-periods of productivity or usefulness of the human being concerned is just as great in human-depreciation accounting as is the necessity for allo-

<sup>4</sup> H. R. Hatfield, *Accounting, Its Principles and Problems* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1931), p. 130.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 138.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 131.

<sup>7</sup> Roy B. Kester, *Advanced Accounting* (3d rev. ed.; New York: Ronald Press Co., 1936), pp. 222 and 223.

<sup>8</sup> Earl A. Saliers, *Depreciation Principles and Application* (2d printing; New York: Ronald Press Co., 1923), pp. 36 and 37.

<sup>9</sup> John R. Bangs, Jr., *Industrial Accounting for Executives* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1930), p. 323.

cating depreciation costs to the time-periods of productivity or usefulness of the physical asset concerned in depreciation accounting. The literature of retirement systems contains this analogy frequently.

Consider, as an example, the conclusion of a New Jersey student, that funds should be set aside during the service of each individual worker to meet his pension obligations as they mature:

The fact that these obligations will mature but gradually and will, for the largest part, require an actual disbursement on the part of the fund only in a more or less remote future, does not make them any the less real. It is precisely of the essence of a fund to provide for the future, however distant; it has to meet all its obligations in the measure as they mature, and whenever they do. This can only be attained if, during the service of every member, there is being set aside every year a certain sum, which by the time of his retirement or death will constitute an amount sufficient to pay to him or to his dependents the annual benefits to which he or they are entitled.<sup>10</sup>

Frederick H. Ecker, now chairman of the board of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, has testified that human depreciation must be recognized in retirement systems. Most surprising of all, in view of the opposition to social security reserves shown by the actuaries of this company, he has severely censured governmental retirement systems for their failure to charge the costs of retirement as service is rendered by the employees:

Certain cardinal principles appear in these illustrations. The service rendered and the payment therefor are ordinarily made concurrently, and, when the service is completed, obligation ceases. On the other hand, if the service is rendered but not paid for until old age arrives, then the accumulated bill is so large as to be unbelievable. With retirement income the same principles apply. The service that entitles a man to retirement income is rendered during the active years of employment. If the cost is paid year by year as the service is rendered, it is naturally assumed as current operating expense and is not excessive, but if postponed the ultimate cost is surprisingly staggering in its amount. In effect it is not the cost of the service that stuns, it is the cost of delay. . . .

The cardinal principle of any sound system of retirement annuities is just as simple, namely, that the sum necessary to secure them should be accumulated by means of both annual deposits and interest during the employee's period of

<sup>10</sup> Alexander H. Gourvitch, *Police, Firemen's and Other Local Employees' Pension Systems in New Jersey* (sec. 3 of supplement to Vol. V, "New Jersey State Research," No. 5 [February, 1918]) (Newark: Bureau of State Research, New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce), p. 7.

activity rather than to be in a position where they must be paid by the "second or third generation." . . . .

Unfortunately some plans, and Government plans are the worst offenders in this respect, do not provide for the necessary accumulation but pay their retirement income out of yearly income.<sup>11</sup>

Just as depreciation develops before the time comes for scrapping or replacement of a physical asset, a debt can exist before the time comes to pay it. Debts created by promises of retirement benefits begin to accrue long before they become actually payable in the form of cash benefits. Chairman Altmeyer of the Social Security Board once expressed this point as follows:

All annuity plans, operated on a business basis, now assume that the insured regularly sets aside part of his earnings in a mutual reserve so that this money, together with the contributions of other similarly insured persons and accumulations of interest, will be available to give him and his fellows security when their earning days are over.

Such a plan also anticipates that the insurance carrier will continuously recognize the increasing obligations represented by these contributions, and will continuously build up its reserve to meet these mounting obligations. In other words, the business world recognizes that it is no more true to say that a debt does not exist until the moment comes to pay it than that an apple does not exist until it is ripe and falls from the tree. And where debts exist the insurance carrier accepts its obligations to be prepared to meet them at all times. When, as in the case of social insurance, the government is the insurance carrier, there is no reason for assuming that these axioms will become inoperative.<sup>12</sup>

Willcox has suggested that there is a close analogy between reserve financing for pensions and depreciation reserves in private business. He declares that

the primary function of the reserve account is to write into each annual budget an appropriation equal to that year's increment in accrued old-age pension liability, and to write into the public debt statement of the United States as of any given time the total liability accumulated up to that time—to spread these liabilities upon the public records, where all who run may read.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Frederick H. Ecker, *Statement before the Committee To Investigate Security against Old-Age Want in New York State Together with Questions and Answers Following the Statement* (New York: Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., 1929), p. 35.

<sup>12</sup> A. J. Altmeyer, "Operation of Social Security Act," *Journal of American Insurance*, XIV (October, 1937), 20.

<sup>13</sup> Alanson W. Willcox, "Why the Old-Age Reserve Account Is Indispensable, Apart from Tax Problems," *Annalist*, August 17, 1938, p. 262.

When we recall how glibly the term "pay-as-you-go" has been torn from its original meaning and used to describe the planlessness of owe-as-you-go financing of retirement insurance, we can understand better how limited has been the real understanding of the true nature of an actuarial reserve. Even some of the friends of such a reserve have not always understood it and have defended it on questionable grounds—as, for example, when they have attempted to minimize its possible future size on the grounds of mistakes in the original actuarial cost estimates, mistakes which actually would have *increased* the size of the reserve computed according to the original benefit formula.

Some of the writers about the original reserve, in their gross ignorance of its technical operations, have even charged that the federal government intended to take this amount of taxes from contributors to the old age insurance system and never return the money. A typical example is the claim by John T. Flynn that "the government of course has no intention of ever repaying this money or any part of it."<sup>14</sup> Mr. Flynn repeated these charges at the hearings on the 1939 amendments, to the effect that "that money is never going to be used for social security."<sup>15</sup> The same point of view has been expressed by Mr. Abraham Epstein's forecast that "the government has not the slightest intention of returning a single dollar of the money collected over and above the annuities paid."<sup>16</sup> This impression probably arose because actuarial estimates placed the probable size of the reserve at \$47,000,000,000 in 1980 and at the same figure permanently thereafter. It was quite natural for these commentators, unfamiliar with the technical aspects of a reserve, to toss off the opinion that the \$47,000,000,000 would never be used for social security.

But let us take a second look at the technical nature of an actuarial reserve. Each year certain income flows into such a reserve.

<sup>14</sup> John T. Flynn, "The Social Security 'Reserve' Swindle," *Harper's Magazine*, No. 1065 (February, 1939), p. 245.

<sup>15</sup> Testimony at hearings relative to the social security act amendments of 1939 before the Committee on Ways and Means, House of Representatives, Seventy-sixth Congress, first session (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1939), II, 1714.

<sup>16</sup> Abraham Epstein, *Insecurity a Challenge to America* (2d rev. ed.; New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1939), p. 805.

Usually this income is from two primary sources: (1) new contributions that year and (2) interest on invested assets of the reserve (accumulated contributions of previous years, unspent for benefits). Each year, likewise, certain expenditures flow out of such a reserve. Usually the outgo consists of benefit payments and of administrative expenses. The reserve itself may be compared to a tank of water with incoming pipes which provide fresh supplies of water and a spigot out of which benefits and administrative expenses are drawn.

In the case of the old age reserve account, according to original actuarial estimates, each year until 1980 the flow of revenue piped into the tank would be greater than the flow of expenditures withdrawn at the spigot. Naturally this would leave a balance in the tank. The balance would continue to rise higher and higher, until in the year 1980 the reservoir of revenues in the tank would amount to \$47,000,000,000. From that time on, the level of reserve funds would not change, and the tank would neither be lowered nor raised by future inflows and outgoes. But this does not mean there would be no piping of income into it, or that there would be no withdrawals. It means only that such activity would have no net effect on the total balance remaining in the reservoir.

Instead of taking a swift, glancing blow of the mind at this process, let us analyze it carefully. Does the original accumulation of \$47,000,000,000 remain in the tank always? Not at all. Each year, some \$3,500,000,000 of it would be withdrawn for benefits and administrative expenses. Each year, that \$3,500,000,000 would be replaced by a new accumulation of \$3,500,000,000 yielded by new taxes currently raised and by interest on the existing fund. Of course, the government would not actually destroy \$3,500,000,000 worth of special securities and create \$3,500,000,000 worth of new securities each year. However, since the obligations presumably would have definite maturity dates, something similar to this procedure would be followed each time any given block of securities would mature.

Stated in more general terms, the equity in the \$47,000,000,000 reserve fund shifts from generation to generation of insured individuals, although the exact securities which acknowledge the debt of the government may not change every year. Each year recipients of benefits liquidate finally their claims against the reserve by death



and cease to have any equity in it. Each year new groups of insured individuals retire and begin to exercise their claims against their equity in the total fund. Each year a group of taxpayers, by ceasing to be employed, ceases to contribute to the stream of income being piped into the reserve. Each year a fresh crop of young people begins gainful employment in industry and replaces these other taxpayers who have been filling the pipes of income. All these shifts involve shifts in equities over a period of time. It is this fluidity of the reserve over a period of time which Mr. Flynn and other critics of the reserve account apparently do not understand. But when the fluidity of time *is* considered, it is easy to see how workers who pay their taxes during their productive years actually *do* get their money back during the years of receiving retirement benefits.

The point involved in this analysis may be clearer if we assume, that, after the system had operated until 1980, it was decided to abandon the idea of old age insurance, but that all contributors then alive who met the original qualifications for benefits would be paid such benefits in full and that in every other respect the insurance system would cease to operate. Under these conditions the \$47,000,000,000 reserve would *not* remain stationary but would gradually dwindle, as succeeding years matured benefit claims without any new tax revenue (except for interest on the decreasing principal amount of the reserve). In twelve to fifteen years the entire "huge reserve" would be liquidated by the "huge benefits" payable to contributors who had legal and moral claims against the reserve. In order to redeem the bonds and get cash to pay benefits, the government would have to raise new taxes or float new bonds. If it raised new taxes, any taxpayer who paid such taxes would surely realize that the workers were getting their money back from the reserve.

These theoretical considerations find ample verification in the experience of state and local governmental retirement systems within the United States.<sup>17</sup>

This experience shows that a tendency toward inadequate rates of contribution is so closely linked with the put-off-to-the-future method of financing as to be an integral part of it. The history of church pension plans shows that inadequate contributions are dis-

<sup>17</sup> J. S. Parker, *Social Security Reserves* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1942), Part II, "In the Light of Experience."



astrous even when reserves are accumulated or are supposed to be accumulated. The history of firemen's and policemen's pension schemes shows that it is almost impossible to collect adequate contributions from these special groups of municipal employees unless their pension plans are organized on the reserve basis. Those who hope that social security taxes can be permanently frozen at ridiculously low rates of less than 3 per cent each for employees and for employers (and still provide adequate benefits) are "kidding" themselves more than are the firemen and policemen, who have some chance to pass the costs to the general public.

Where the reserve basis is used in governmental retirement systems, investment of the assets becomes important. A number of important retirement systems invest all or major parts of their assets in the securities of the same governmental unit that administers the retirement system. Among the state employees' retirement systems that invest their assets thus are those of California, Hawaii, Minnesota, and New Jersey. Among the municipal employees' retirement systems that also invest their assets thus are those of Boston, Cincinnati, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, New York City, and San Francisco. The New York City teachers' system and the allied system for civil employees of the New York City Board of Education invest their reserves in obligations of the city of New York. If we were to believe the opponents of the social security reserve account, all these reserves are fictitious.

The importance of time in setting up any retirement system cannot be overstressed. Time (years of service) is the basis of crediting benefits. Time (years of life after the annuity begins) is the basis of estimating the liabilities which have already matured into pension claims. Spreading of the costs over the longest possible period of time is only common sense, in view of the fact that the problem in all retirement systems is not an oversupply of funds but the necessity of raising sufficient revenues to meet pension claims as they mature.

These governmentally managed retirement systems can all fall back on the compulsion of government. In most of the cases studied, membership was compulsory, at least for entrants into the service after passage of the legislation under which the system operates. More important, contributions are also compulsory. True, the taxing powers of the smaller governmental units are not so wide as those

of the federal government. But the pension liabilities are also smaller. In proportion to the pension liabilities, the tax revenues that can be tapped for this purpose are probably just as great in the local units as in the federal government. Yet any government official will warn that these powers have definite limits. No responsible government administrator would blindly promise pension payments running decades into the future upon the solemn assurance of a newspaper columnist or life insurance president that the taxing power of a government insures it an unlimited flow of premium (contribution) income with which to pay benefits. Government officials, who are not magicians used to plucking rabbits out of hats, know that taxes are not raised that easily—even if it is easy and popular to put off their levying to future generations.

Sound accounting theory and the accumulated experience of this country with local retirement systems both agree that the reserve system is the true pay-as-you-go system and that the absence of an actuarial reserve only puts off to the future the raising of taxes. Why, then, has there been so much opposition to a reserve account? If adequate actuarial reserves are desirable for sound financing, in a small retirement system, why oppose them in a large federal system?

The answer to this question is found entirely outside the retirement system itself. The opponents of the reserve have been interested in the economic system as a whole, not in the retirement system. They have cared less about internal financing than about the external effects of the financial practices of the insurance system upon general business. When they have thought about pay-as-you-go, they have thought of not permitting the government to borrow insurance tax revenues for general federal expenditures. But in avoiding this assumed danger, they may have created a greater one of unfunded and unrecognized debts for old age insurance benefits. It is significant that the defense program probably will create a permanently unbalanced federal budget for years or even decades to come. It will be decades before the federal debt is again reduced. Meanwhile, the federal old age insurance system, under the present contingency reserve policy, will be piling up additional undisclosed debts. Under these conditions, he who would seek the job as Secretary of the Treasury must be a martyr indeed.

## LYMAN TERRACE: A SMALL HOUSING PROJECT<sup>1</sup>

AMY HEWES

**A**T HOLYOKE, MASSACHUSETTS, the Connecticut River sweeps first east and then west, in a great bow, nearly encircling the city on its west bank. The land within this arc rises to heights which command a panorama of the countryside in three natural terraces. The water of the river, imprisoned by the big dam, is drawn off in canals at three levels and finally returned to the river at South Holyoke, after it has furnished power for the many mills and factories which line the banks of the canals.

The visitor who drives from the south along Route 202, just before crossing the third-level canal at Lyman Street, will pass on his right an attractive colony of two-story brick houses in terraced rows. Each house has a separate front and back entrance and each a small, sodded, front yard, some of which are planted with juniper and other evergreens. The visitor may look into the central space which serves as the children's playground, nearly shut off from the street by the houses. This settlement is Lyman Terrace Project, an important first step in the solution of the housing problems which for more than eighty years have vexed Holyoke.

These problems, as old as the city itself, began when the Hadley Falls Company was formed, in 1847, to promote the establishment of mills and factories for utilization of the water power offered by the site. When the Lyman Cotton Mills were built, in 1854, between the two canals below what is now the project, it was necessary to provide houses near the mills for the work people to live in. The promotion company, anticipating the growth of a great textile city, took care that the near-by housing sites were built upon with no waste space. Hence, solid rows of brick tenements—as close together as though

<sup>1</sup> A study made by the following students in statistics at Mount Holyoke College in co-operation with the Holyoke Housing Authority: Elizabeth Barrows, Mildred Dunn, Margery Farrington, Frances Frazer, Nathana Fuller, Winifred Hobson, Lois Jenkins, Jean Johansen, Celia Kaler, Kathryn Kimble, Gertrude Natusch, and Elizabeth Platou.

they were surrounded by a dense urban area instead of a spreading unsettled river valley—were put up where the new houses now stand.<sup>2</sup> The houses were structurally good, and, although they long ago failed to meet latter-day standards, they withstood the wear of time for nearly eighty years. They were finally taken down in the slum-clearance program of 1939-40. The bricks were saved for the new houses, and their attractive color and texture give character to the present Lyman Terrace.

Since its early days, Holyoke has struggled to get enough houses built, and its authorities have deplored the insanitary conditions in which many of the people have been forced to live. As long ago as 1855, it was reported that 778 families lived in only 514 houses. The following year the Board of Health found that many families lived in dark, damp cellars.<sup>3</sup> As the city grew, conditions became more grave. High death and morbidity rates were attributed to insanitary living, but housing was not yet recognized as a public responsibility. Civic organizations made surveys and compared Holyoke unfavorably with other cities, in the number of persons per dwelling, and pointed out the high infant mortality and poor housing in Wards I, II, and IV.<sup>4</sup>

The depression years of the thirties increased the difficulty of housing problems but ushered in a program of public housing made possible by the United States Housing Act of 1937. Massachusetts was one of the thirty-eight states which by the end of 1939 had passed laws enabling their cities to set up local housing authorities. In the spring of 1938 the Holyoke board of aldermen began the consideration of a public housing project. This seemed a dangerously radical step to some of the city's taxpayers, who voiced vigorous opposition. Government, it seemed to them, might appropriately furnish such services as schools, fire protection, or electric light, but houses should be put up by private construction companies. On the other hand, it was argued that houses are as necessary to satisfactory living as schools, and private construction companies did not and could not provide standard houses to rent at figures low enough

<sup>2</sup> Constance McLaughlin Green, *Holyoke, Massachusetts: A Case History of the Industrial Revolution in America* (New Haven, 1939), p. 40.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 41, 43.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 283.

to make them available for many of the city's workers. The need became very clear when the Holyoke Housing Authority, set up in April, 1938, reported, after a survey, that twenty-eight hundred of the city's dwellings were substandard. This situation, in the eyes of the Authority, justified a program of public housing, and it was decided to embark upon the Lyman Terrace Project, made possible by a contract with the United States Housing Authority, signed February 11, 1939. According to the terms of this contract, the federal government was to furnish 90 per cent of the cost of the project, estimated at \$1,800,000, and in addition make annual contributions in order that rents might be low enough for tenants in the lowest-income group.

The site decided upon was the area bounded by Front, John, High, and Lyman streets, then still occupied by the old Lyman Mills company houses. These properties, which had passed to the Whiting Paper Company, were bought from it by the city for \$114,500. The Holyoke Housing Authority will finance its share of the expense by a fifteen-year bond issue at 3 per cent, and the city agreed to waive taxes for sixty years. It was estimated that \$37,448 would be needed annually for maintenance and debt service. Rents were set so as to yield this figure, but also with reference to the main object of the undertaking, namely, to make standard houses available to low-income groups.

The Project, in freeing its tenants from the hazards of the slums, has offered a safe and healthy environment. The amount of space and the number of conveniences were necessarily limited in order to keep building costs at a minimum. The aim was to secure the best accommodations which people with low levels of income could afford to live in.

It is the purpose of this study to report the ways in which the Holyoke Housing Authority set up a community of men, women, and children in the new houses and to consider the Project in relation to the city's urgent housing needs. The information presented is taken from the records of the Housing Authority, mainly from the application forms of those who wished to live at Lyman Terrace. These forms give descriptions of housing conditions of the families at time of application and statements of size and makeup of families, costs of

rent, heat, and utilities, and family incomes. Data were also drawn from score sheets of the substandard housing conditions of the applicants and from the Management Resolution, which forms the basis for the administration of the plan.

#### WHO WANTED TO COME AND HOW THEY WERE SELECTED

There were many more families anxious to move into the Project than Lyman Terrace could hold. Only 167 of the 795 applications received by the Housing Authority could be accepted. Although many applicants living in substandard houses were necessarily rejected, those selected all came from homes in which the living conditions were "unsafe, unsanitary, overcrowded, or detrimental to health or morals."<sup>5</sup>

The locations of the former homes of the tenants were widely spread over the city, with representation in each of the seven wards. The large majority, however, were in Wards I, II, and IV. The Project itself is in Ward IV, and, in coming to live in it, many families moved from homes only a few blocks away. Some had lived in houses which stood on the actual site of the Project.

Three principal qualifications were considered in determining which of the applicants should be accepted. The first was residence in the houses which had been torn down to make room for the Project. A special claim was recognized as belonging to the families who had been put out of their homes for the new building operations. Only five of these, however, were able to avail themselves of the choice thus given them. It has often been noted that slum-clearance projects frequently result in no advantage to those whose homes are replaced by model houses, because the latter are so expensive that the displaced families must find other inadequate or even worse accommodations. In this instance it was thought that the reason why so few became Project tenants was not so much the increase in rent but the fact that, when the first move was made, "doubled up" families separated. Frequently these were a combination of the parent-generation (who actually had the claim to the Project) and married children who wished to set up housekeeping for themselves. When they moved away they found new homes in all parts of the

<sup>5</sup> Management Resolution, Holyoke Housing Authority, Sec. 3.08(a).



city, but for the most part they were forced to reside in the more congested areas from which many of the Project tenants came.

The second consideration which might make other applicants eligible was the kind of houses they were occupying. Families living under the worst conditions were given preference over others. Among the conditions judged most serious were unsafe buildings, lack of bath or private inside toilet or ones unfit for use, rooms with no outside windows, unsafe heating or cooking arrangements, lack of running water, and overcrowding. Size of the family income was the third factor in selecting tenants.

The particular circumstances of each family were always carefully considered before accepting or rejecting it. For example, a family consisting of two women and a little girl, who might not otherwise have been given preference, was admitted to the Project because the older woman was paralyzed and the younger an invalid, and their inability to climb stairs had made them virtual prisoners on the fourth floor of their walk-up tenement.

#### SPACE FOR CHILDREN

Children, whom some of the landlords will not accept, are welcome at Lyman Terrace, where they have healthy homes in which to grow up and a safe place for outdoor play. To insure the use of the Project by children, families of more than three persons are not accepted unless there are children. In families of four there must be at least one child; in families of five, at least two; and in families of six or more, three. Furthermore, the Project homes are open only to such groups as are genuine families—either parents with dependent children or other relatives, or adults who “have regularly lived as an inherent part of the family group, whose earnings are an integral part of the family income and whose resources are available for use in meeting family expenses.”<sup>6</sup> Persons living alone are excluded, as are lodgers or temporary paying guests, combinations of families, and casual groups of working adults. When Lyman Terrace was first opened in November, 1940, 324, or nearly a third of the total of 996 persons in families whose applications were accepted, were children under sixteen years of age.

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*, Appen. A(g).



## FAMILY INCOME

The Housing Authority limited Lyman Terrace to the use of families with incomes of not more than \$1,450 a year. Actually all the incomes of the families admitted in 1940 were under \$1,400, and the large majority (82 per cent) received between \$600 and \$1,200. A comparison of this distribution of income with that for the families whose applications were rejected, which is shown in Table 1, indicates that income was a factor in selection. The median income for

TABLE 1  
INCOMES OF ACCEPTED AND REJECTED APPLICANTS

INCOME GROUP (DOLLARS)	ACCEPTED APPLICANTS		REJECTED APPLICANTS	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Total.....	167	100.0	605*	100.0
Under 200.....	2	1.2	31	5.1
200- 399.....	4	2.4	30	5.0
400- 599.....	5	3.0	57	9.4
600- 799.....	61	36.5	112	18.5
800- 999.....	30	18.0	96	15.9
1,000-1,199.....	46	27.5	103	17.0
1,200-1,399.....	19	11.4	75	12.4
1,400-1,599.....			56	9.3
1,600-1,799.....			19	3.1
1,800 and over.....			26	4.3

\* Twenty-three rejected applicants failed to report definite incomes. Two reported living on savings and one earning \$5.00 a day "off and on."

both groups was between \$800 and \$1,000, but 17 per cent of the rejected applicants had incomes higher than any of those who were accepted.

The fact that a greater proportion of families with incomes below \$600 is found among those who did not get into the Project than among the tenants indicates that many people decided they could not afford the move and could not pay even the low rents charged for the Project houses. One out of every five of the rejected families had incomes below \$600. Thus the Project leaves still unsolved the problem of adequate housing for those with the lowest incomes.

The earned income of almost a third of the families accepted had

been supplemented by aid from public sources. The largest part of this group, about 23 per cent of the total number of tenant families, had been employed by the W.P.A. during the year previous to their application. Eight per cent of the families, including about one-fourth of the W.P.A. workers, had received relief from more than one source.

Among the Project tenants, the earnings of the head of the family were the mainstay and constituted the sole means of support in nearly three-fourths (74 per cent) of the families. In only 9 per cent of the families was the family income entirely derived from earnings of other members of the family.

TABLE 2  
FAMILIES REPORTING BASIC  
SUBSTANDARD FACTORS

NUMBER OF BASIC SUB- STANDARD FACTORS	ACCEPTED FAMILIES*		REJECTED FAMILIES †	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Total...	150	100.0	399	100.0
0.....	27	18.0	106	26.6
1.....	61	40.7	170	42.6
2.....	35	23.3	79	19.8
3.....	23	15.3	39	9.8
4.....	4	2.7	4	1.0
5.....	.....	.....	1	0.2

\* Seventeen families made no report.

† Excluding 58 families who were accepted but withdrew and 171 who made no report.

#### THE HOUSES THEY HAD LIVED IN

A list of the basic substandard conditions in the dwelling of each applicant was made and scored, and this score was used in the selection of tenants for the Project. The record showed that the great majority lived in houses structurally unsafe or without bathing facilities, inside toilet, running water, or adequate cooking arrangements. In many homes combinations of these undesirable conditions must have made wholesome living impossible. In addition, the dwellings were often overcrowded.

More than two-fifths of the accepted families were living in homes

with two or more of these substandard conditions (Table 2). The reports were incomplete, and many substandard features were probably omitted. It may be assumed, therefore, that the situation was more unfavorable than the tabulation indicates. The items of toilets and baths were more readily evaluated and more generally reported on than others. The prevalence of substandard conditions in these two counts alone for accepted and rejected families is shown in Table 3. The lack of inside toilets and baths or showers was reported by nearly one-third of the homes of the accepted families but by less than one-fifth of those who were rejected. This suggests that the conditions of the former homes of the families now living in Lyman

TABLE 3  
FAMILIES LACKING SANITARY FACILITIES

SANITARY FACILITIES	ACCEPTED FAMILIES*		REJECTED FAMILIES†	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Total.....	167	100.0	570	100.0
No inside toilet.....	52	31.1	89	15.6
No bath or shower.....	52	31.1	107	18.8

\* Seven of the accepted and 17 of the rejected families failed to report on inside toilet; 6 accepted and 16 rejected families failed to report on bath or shower.

† Excluding 58 families who were accepted but withdrew.

Terrace were worse than those of the applicants who failed to get in. In general, however, the wide distribution of poor housing among the applicants makes the margin of difference small.

#### THE NUMBER OF PERSONS PER ROOM

The Housing Authority has defined "overcrowding" as "occupancy seriously exceeding approved maximum limits and detrimental to health, privacy, or morals. Rooms smaller in size than locally established minimum standards."<sup>7</sup> Some latitude may be allowed in determining what is the "approved maximum limit" of the number of persons who should occupy a given number of rooms. Size of rooms, amount of light and air, and age and sex of children make for considerable difference in adequacy.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, Appen. B.

The families of specified numbers of persons occupying houses with the indicated number of rooms at Lyman Terrace are shown in Table 4, A. For example, there were thirty-one families composed of five persons each. Thirteen of these were living in four-room homes

TABLE 4  
SIZE OF FAMILY AND NUMBER OF ROOMS\*

NUMBER OF ROOMS	NUMBER OF MEMBERS IN FAMILY							
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
A. Families at Lyman Terrace†								
2.....								
3.....	25	31						
4.....		14	42	13				
5.....			1	18	13	4		
6.....						1	3	2
B. Families in Former Homes†								
2.....	3	4	1					
3.....	6	6	5	1		1		
4.....	5	24	23	16	10	2	2	
5.....	6	8	13	13	3	3		2
6.....	1	1	1	1			1	

\* There are 5 less families represented in Table 4, B, than in Table 4, A, as 5 applicants did not report the number of rooms in the home. One family of 7, including a married son with his wife and child, divided, and the son moved into Lyman Terrace. Thus one family listed in Table 4, A, as having 3 members is listed in Table 4, B, as having 7.

† The heavily boxed squares include the number of families in which the ratio of person to room is 1:1.

and eighteen in five rooms. There were forty-two families of four members each living in four-room homes, and no families of four living in less than four rooms. The ratio of one person per room (shown by the heavy squares in Table 4) is taken frequently as a standard and more than one person per room as overcrowding. Judged by this standard Lyman Terrace has forty families (those below and to the

left of the heavy squares) with fewer than one person per room and thirty-six families (those above and to the right of the heavy squares), including all those composed of six or more persons, with more than one person per room. The standard actually applied in Lyman Terrace was a maximum of two persons per bedroom, a person being anyone over the age of one year. Three facts should be kept in mind when considering the homes in which there were more than one person per room: first, the rooms are well ventilated, outside rooms; second, the ratio is only a small fraction more than one person per room; and, third, the only alternative to this arrangement for these families would have been to stay in their former tenement homes.

A comparison of this distribution with the ratio of persons to rooms which held in the former homes of these same families (Table 4, B) shows clearly the changes brought about by the Project. Less than half as many families when living in the former homes had one person per room, and the number with more than one person per room was over 40 per cent larger. For some families the overcrowding was extreme, and for a few others the number of rooms was more than the standard. The extent to which this was the case is indicated by the spread on either side of the heavy squares. Obviously what the Project has done is to equalize the distribution of rooms among families, making it come much closer to their actual needs than before.

In order to avoid overcrowding and at the same time use the Project to the best advantage, the number of persons in each family determined the size of the apartment allotted to it. Three-room apartments were assigned to families of two or three persons; four rooms to those of from three to five; five rooms to families of from four to seven; and six rooms to those of from six to eight members. This last restriction has been made flexible enough to admit into the project two families with nine members each, thirteen of whom are children. It was specified that "... consideration shall be given to the age, sex, and relationship of the members of the family, and other factors, such as disability. Every child regardless of age shall be considered as a person."<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, Sec. 3.05(b).

## RENT

The Housing Authority aimed to fix the cost of shelter in the Project at levels which would not entail appreciable increases over the rents paid in the former dwellings. The lowest monthly rent formerly paid by any Project tenant was \$8.62, the highest \$34.66, and the average for all \$16.69 (Table 5). The rents paid by these same families after they became Project tenants ranged from \$13.50 to \$22.00, and the average was then \$18.52. This higher average might be

TABLE 5  
AVERAGE MONTHLY RENTS FOR FAMILIES  
IN VARIOUS INCOME GROUPS

INCOME GROUPS (DOLLARS)	PROJECT TENANTS			REJECTED APPLICANTS	
	Number	Former Rent (Dollars)	Project Rent (Dollars)	Number	Rent (Dollars)
Total.....	158*	16.69	18.52	547†	18.45
Under 500.....	6	15.28	17.67	66	16.46
500- 599.....	4	17.83	17.16	29	17.00
600- 699.....	28	15.29	17.07	56	16.09
700- 799.....	29	16.60	17.88	47	18.09
800- 899.....	11	16.39	18.09	39	17.95
900- 999.....	16	14.96	17.88	52	17.17
1,000-1,099.....	20	17.12	19.35	57	18.81
1,100-1,199.....	25	18.68	19.76	37	20.87
1,200-1,299.....	10	18.17	20.15	32	20.06
1,300-1,399.....	9	17.00	20.78	40	18.77
1,400-1,599.....				50	22.40
1,600-1,799.....				15	18.65
1,800 and over....				27	19.73

\* Eight applicants failed to report former rent; one reported only two weeks' income for the year.

† Eighty-one rejected applicants failed to report either income or rent.

taken to indicate that the new standard houses absorbed larger amounts of the family budget, but it must be remembered that the cost of heat is included in the Project houses and, with only very few exceptions, not in the others. The amount spent for heat in the large majority of former tenement homes was estimated to be about \$4.00 per month, but the information given on the application blanks was so irregular and uncertain that an attempt to get a rent-plus-heat cost by using the figures given was abandoned. It was sufficient,

however, to indicate that, if the cost of heat were included, the expense to Project tenants for heated houses was usually less than they had paid for shelter *plus* heat. It is certainly a fact that the Project houses are more adequately heated than the former homes.

The rejected applicants paid an average monthly rent of \$18.45, only slightly lower than that for the Project homes; but, again, it must be remembered that in almost every instance they paid for heat in addition, so that, aside from generally better accommoda-

TABLE 6  
NUMBER OF FAMILIES REPORTING FORMER SUBSTANDARD  
CONDITIONS AT DIFFERENT RENT LEVELS\*

RENT PER MONTH (DOLLARS)	NUMBER OF FAMILIES	NUMBER OF FAMILIES WITH SPECIFIED NUMBER OF BASIC SUBSTANDARD FACTORS				
		0	1	2	3	4
Total.....	142	25	57	34	22	4
8.00-10.99.....	17	1	0	10	4	2
11.00-13.99.....	27	0	12	9	6	0
14.00-16.99.....	31	6	12	5	6	2
17.00-19.99.....	38	11	20	5	2	0
20.00-22.99.....	20	2	11	4	3	0
23.00-25.99.....	2	1	0	1	0	0
26.00-28.99.....	5	2	2	0	1	0
29.00-31.99.....	1	1	0	0	0	0
32.00-34.99.....	1	1	0	0	0	0

\* Seventeen made no report on substandard factors; 8 made no report on rent.

tions, the advantage for rent-*plus*-heat cost is again with the Project tenants.

Usually the lower rents paid for their former homes by Project tenants were associated with the prevalence of larger numbers of substandard features (Table 6). It is true, however, that the number of families paying the higher rents in this group was too small to establish this relationship clearly. Many of the houses were poorer than the reports on substandard features would indicate, since the detailed score sheet was missing in nineteen cases and the reports for these cover only three substandard features (lack of inside toilet, lack of bath or shower, and overcrowding).

It will be observed that the Project rents increase fairly regularly



with the income levels in contrast to the absence of this relationship before. It is also clear that for the families in income groups below \$1,200, constituting 88 per cent of the total number, the spread of average costs is smaller in Project rents than in rents for the previous homes; the former ranged from \$17.07 to \$19.76, the latter from \$14.96 to \$18.68.

The relationship between rent and income is in large measure the result of the policy of the Housing Authority, which has divided the apartments in the Project into three groups. The family income, as well as number of rooms in these houses, determines the rent, as indicated in Table 7.<sup>9</sup>

TABLE 7  
CLASSIFICATION OF DWELLING UNITS IN PROJECT

NUMBER OF ROOMS	GROUP A		GROUP B		GROUP C	
	Rent	Maximum Income	Rent	Maximum Income	Rent	Maximum Income
3.....	\$13.50	\$750	\$16.50	\$ 950	\$19.50	\$1,200
4.....	14.00	850	17.00	1,050	20.50	1,350
5.....	15.00	925	17.50	1,150	21.50	1,400
6.....			18.00	1,200	22.00	1,450

The percentage spent for rent after the tenants became Project dwellers was slightly larger than before (Table 8). This increase, however, results from a comparison of rents for unheated tenements with those for the heated Project houses, and, as previously explained, it cannot be assumed that the Project tenants devoted larger proportions of their income to housing. Little difference can be discerned between the ratios of rent to income in the case of rejected applicants and the corresponding ratios for tenants of Lyman Terrace.

The percentages of income spent for rent by most of these Holyoke families are markedly higher than those reported for low-income groups in the United States as a whole.<sup>10</sup> A percentage of 28.9 for

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, Secs. 2.01(b), 3.02(a).

<sup>10</sup> *Consumer Expenditures in the United States* (National Resources Committee, 1939), p. 78.

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incomes under \$500 throughout the country drops to 19.9 for incomes between \$500 and \$750, and to 18.1 for those between \$1,000 and \$1,250. In contrast with these values, the percentage for Lyman Terrace tenants with incomes between \$600 and \$700 was 31.8, and for those between \$1,200 and \$1,300 it was 19.4. As the incomes increased, the percentages spent for rent in Lyman Terrace and in the

TABLE 8  
PROPORTION OF INCOME PAID FOR RENT

INCOME GROUPS (DOLLARS)	PROJECT TENANTS			REJECTED APPLICANTS	
	Number	Per Cent of Income		Number	Per Cent of Income Paid for Rent
		Former Rent	Project Rent		
Total .....	148*	.....	.....	452†	.....
600- 699 .....	28	28.4	31.8	56	30.7
700- 799 .....	29	26.6	28.6	47	28.9
800- 899 .....	11	23.3	25.9	39	25.4
900- 999 .....	16	18.9	22.6	52	21.9
1,000-1,099 .....	20	19.6	22.2	57	21.6
1,100-1,199 .....	25	19.7	20.9	37	21.8
1,200-1,299 .....	10	17.5	19.4	32	19.4
1,300-1,399 .....	9	15.5	19.0	40	16.9
1,400-1,599 .....	.....	.....	.....	50	18.3
1,600-1,799 .....	.....	.....	.....	15	13.3
1,800 and over .....	.....	.....	.....	27	12.8

\* Eight tenants failed to report former rent; one reported only two weeks' income for the year. Ten with incomes under \$600 are also omitted, because the money income had been largely supplemented by gifts of food, clothing, and fuel and therefore was not comparable with other incomes.

† Eighty-one rejected applicants failed to report either income or rent. Ninety-five with incomes under \$600 are also omitted.

country as a whole appear less disparate, though throughout the income groups within which the Project tenants fall the Holyoke percentages are persistently higher.

This difference between Holyoke costs and those for the country at large is paralleled by similar differences reported in a study of family expenditures in seven other New England cities.<sup>11</sup> In the two middle-sized cities, New Britain, Connecticut, and Haverhill, Massa-

<sup>11</sup> *Family Expenditures in Seven New England Cities, 1935-36* (U.S. Department of Labor Bull. 645 [Washington, D.C., 1941]), p. 33.

chusetts, the percentages range from 38.3 for incomes between \$250 and \$500 to 29.0 for incomes between \$1,250 and \$1,500. For four smaller cities the range for the same income groups is from 39.2 to 28.1. The high costs of rent found in New England, as compared with costs for the country as a whole, appear to prevail not only in cities but in villages as well.<sup>12</sup>

#### LIFE AT LYMAN TERRACE

The establishment of a new community of human beings under conditions which present such a marked contrast to those which obtained in the same spot only a short time ago is change of a kind which can be only inadequately measured by statistical analysis. Moreover, it is too early to find reflected in public records such gains in health and well-being as those of which the tenants are already conscious as a result of better housing.

An officer of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children remarked that no complaints had come to that society from the Project up to date. By the early spring of 1941 the increase in private employment as a result of the development of the defense program had taken a number of the Project tenants from the W.P.A. rolls. One healthy reaction was the resentment shown by members of the community to public notice. "We are not guinea pigs," said one of the tenants, "we are just ordinary humans." Life at the Project among individuals who were at first strangers soon showed all kinds of manifestations of neighborliness, and a variety of such social activities as have small chance to grow in overcrowded houses began to appear.

The community has the stimulus of the variety of national background which has characterized the city ever since people from other parts of the world were drawn to it by the opportunity to work in its mills and factories. All tenants are American citizens, since citizenship is a requirement for admission. Two-thirds of the first 167 families were of French-Canadian or Irish stock in about equal proportions. Another fifth of the group were Polish. People of Scottish, German, Italian, Portuguese, and English backgrounds, together

<sup>12</sup> *Family Income and Expenditures, Five Regions, Part II: Family Expenditures* (U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1940), p. 87.

with Americans of several generations' standing, made up the remainder.

More than half of the first tenants were industrial workers in the city's mills and factories, about thirty were W.P.A. workers, and others were employed in the stores, in transportation, and in personal service.

When the Project was only a few months old, an informal poll was taken to find out the wishes of the tenants with regard to the uses of the community social room and community activities in general. The responses obtained revealed a good deal about the attitudes of the tenants toward the Project. With almost no exception they appeared to be enjoying living there. They liked the newness and compactness of their homes and the complete separation of their own from their neighbor's. One spoke of satisfaction in having private front and back entrances, another of the light afforded by the large windows. A young woman said: "This is the nicest place we have ever lived in"; and an old woman said: "This is the kind of place I want to die in." A number had already experimented with growing things in the tiny yards. The warm rooms in cold weather were prized by many who had never had that comfort before. One woman described her surprise in finding it warm in the house when she got up: "And Faith, niver did I think it would be warm until I had brought up my wood and kindled a fire and Saints alive, there was the blessed warmth without me havin' to raise my hand."

The Project is too small to have some of the services which larger housing units have enjoyed, and tenants wish for supervision of the children's play and for more equipment. But birthday parties for the children in the community room have afforded much pleasure, as have also parties for adults. Ideas for the promotion of social activities are fostered in "Terrace Topics," the mimeographed Project newspaper.

This study of Lyman Terrace has aimed to give a picture of the material changes brought about in the environment of families who moved into the Project. Without increasing costs, their new homes have afforded the tenants adequate space and equipment in contrast with the unhealthy and crowded houses in which they had been compelled to live formerly. The basic housing needs of low-income fam-

ilies have been met, and thus problems of great importance for these people have been solved. But more than this has been accomplished. It is becoming clear that new standards of community living are taking root in what formerly was a slum area.

The Project has shown the extent of Holyoke's need for better housing facilities. Lyman Terrace could accommodate only a fraction of those inadequately housed, but the practical experience it has afforded should hasten the day when the city will assume the responsibility for making prevalent within its boundaries housing standards as high as those it has provided in the Project.

MOUNT HOLYOKE COLLEGE

## NOTES AND COMMENT BY THE EDITOR

### THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT AND THE PAUPER LAWS

A FIRST break in the outer defenses of the old pauper laws, which our American states still find it so difficult to abolish, has come not in the form of a direct assault but in a flanking attack with the United States Supreme Court decision that a law which prohibits a man from entering a state because he is destitute is a violation of the Constitution of the United States (*Edwards v. People of California*,<sup>1</sup> 62 Supreme Court Reporter 164). The old poor laws have traditionally contained a provision making it an offense for anyone to "bring a pauper into the state," and the laws of some twenty-seven states still retain this provision. This provision is older than the Constitution of the United States in the state poor law system and belongs with the outworn policy of local responsibility which can be enforced only through legislation defining what constitutes residence or settlement, making nonresidents ineligible for re-

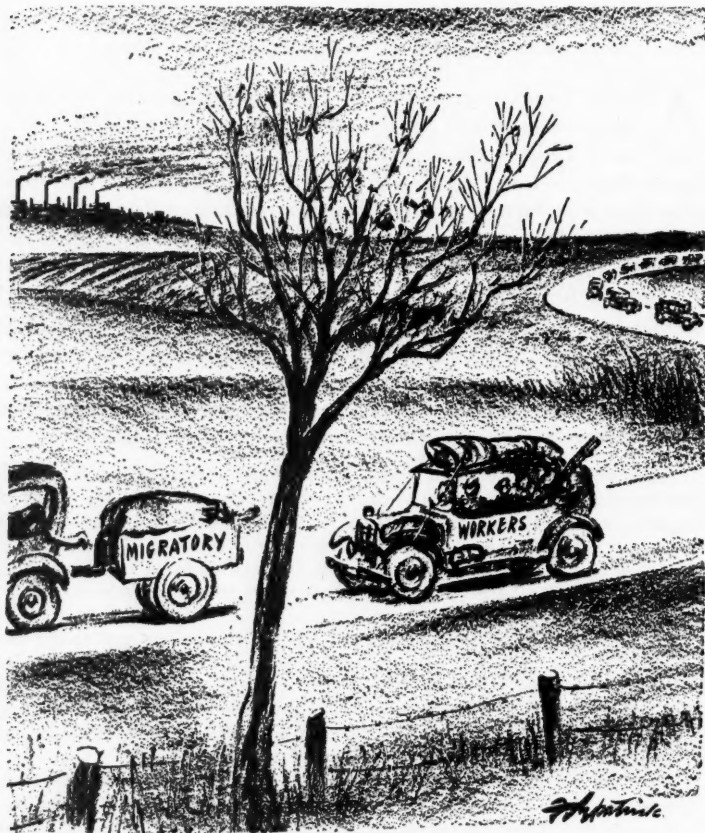
<sup>1</sup> An excellent review of the economic and social aspects of the Edwards case has been issued by the Tolan Committee, which reviews its larger aspects, the subject of migration, and the historic westward trend to the state of California. See the Special Committee Print: *Analysis of Material Bearing on the Economic and Social Aspects of the Case of Fred S. Edwards vs. the People of the State of California* (Select Committee Investigating National Defense Migration, [77th Cong., 1st sess.]). Washington, D.C., 1941. Pp. vii+84.

The dire conditions of the depression period and California's attempt to stop the migration of those who might become a public charge, the attempt to set up border patrols and "bum blockades," the drive against "squatter" and "jungle camps," and the whole subject of agricultural migratory labor in California are carefully reviewed in this "committee print," and there is a compilation of the anti-migratory legislation, including the exclusion laws and removal statutes of all states.

The influx of two million persons to California in the boom decade of the 1920's was "the greatest single movement in the entire history of the country, one of the greatest in the world. . . . California grew during this decade as much as in the first sixty years of its development from a frontier state. It is popularly supposed that migration to California within the past few years is an unusual occurrence. In 1930-40 the volume of movement was little more than half that of the preceding decade. A survey conducted by the United States Department of Agriculture shows that the net migration into California during the 1930's numbered about 1,000,000 persons. . . . Migration to California has been a response to developing opportunity in the far West and declining opportunity elsewhere."

lief and, in some states, keeping persons "likely to become a public charge" out of the state entirely.

But times have changed since the days when the states first attempted to keep out indigents or "paupers" by means of penal legislation. In the



*Fitzpatrick in "St. Louis Post-Dispatch"*

#### IN SEARCH OF LOST FRONTIERS

eighteenth century and the first part of the nineteenth century, men who were able to work and were trying to find a place where work was available were called "vagrants," "vagabonds," "beggars"—later they were



"tramps," or "hobos," and still later, "transients"—and at long last they have achieved a new status as they have become "migratory laborers" and unemployed workmen.

In the recent California case Mr. Edwards went to Texas and brought his brother-in-law from Texas to California in his automobile. The brother-in-law had been employed by W.P.A. Therefore, Mr. Edwards "knew his brother-in-law was an indigent person." In California the Welfare and Institutions Code contains the following provision, which is similar to poor law provisions in many other states: "Every person, firm or corporation, or officer or agent thereof that brings or assists in bringing into the State any indigent person who is not a resident of the State, knowing him to be an indigent person, is guilty of a misdemeanor." The brother-in-law had had about \$20 when he left Texas, but he did not succeed in getting work when he got to California, and within ten days he was without money and applied to the Farm Security Administration. Therefore, complaint was filed against Mr. Edwards for bringing a man who was clearly "an indigent" into the state.

It is of special interest in this case that the "indigent" had been given assistance from federal funds when he was on W.P.A. in Texas, and he applied for federal help from F.S.A. in California. But in spite of the fact that he was not applying for state funds, complaint was filed against Edwards, who was tried, convicted, and sentenced to six months' imprisonment, although sentence was suspended.

But public opinion about destitute migratory workers has been changing during the past decade, and, quite recently, Congressman Tolan of California, through the vigorous, active work of his House Committee on Migratory Labor, by public hearings from coast to coast, has exposed the inequities to which these hapless people are exposed.

When there was no further appeal to the state courts, the United States Supreme Court was asked to hear the case and decided to take jurisdiction. A reargument was ordered, and Congressman Tolan appeared as *amicus curiae*.

The opinion of the Supreme Court, which was written by Mr. Justice Byrnes, held that the California law, popularly known as an "anti-Okie" law, was "an unconstitutional barrier to interstate commerce." It is pointed out that the "express purpose and inevitable effect" of the law is to prohibit the transportation of indigent persons across the California border. "The burden upon interstate commerce is intended and immediate; it is the plain and sole function of the statute."

The Supreme Court comments acidly on our old poor law policies and points to new horizons. Thus Justice Byrnes says:

It is urged, however, that the concept which underlies Section 2615 enjoys a firm basis in English and American history. This is the notion that each community should care for its own indigent, that relief is solely the responsibility of local government. Of this it must first be said that we are not now called upon to determine anything other than the propriety of an attempt by a State to prohibit the transportation of indigent non-residents into its territory. The nature and extent of its obligation to afford relief to newcomers is not here involved. We do, however, suggest that the theory of the Elizabethan poor laws no longer fits the facts. Recent years, and particularly the past decade, have been marked by a growing recognition that in an industrial society the task of providing assistance to the needy has ceased to be local in character. The duty to share the burden, if not wholly to assume it, has been recognized not only by State governments, but by the Federal government as well. The changed attitude is reflected in the Social Security laws under which the Federal and State governments cooperate for the care of the aged, the blind and dependent children. . . . It is reflected in the works programs under which work is furnished the unemployed, with the States supplying approximately 25 per cent and the Federal government approximately 75 per cent of the cost. . . . It is further reflected in the Farm Security Laws, under which the entire cost of the relief provisions is borne by the Federal government. . . .

What Justice Byrnes said with regard to financing relief is held to apply also to the transportation of indigent persons:

For the social phenomenon of large-scale interstate migration is as certainly a matter of national concern as the provision of assistance to those who have found a permanent or temporary abode. Moreover, and unlike the relief problem, this phenomenon does not admit of diverse treatment by the several States. The prohibition against transporting indigent non-residents into one State is an open invitation to retaliatory measures, and the burdens upon the transportation of such persons become cumulative. Moreover, it would be a virtual impossibility for migrants and those who transport them to acquaint themselves with the peculiar rules of admission of many states.

Social workers, however, will find the special concurring opinions of Mr. Justice Douglas and Mr. Justice Jackson more satisfactory, since both of these opinions prefer to place the unconstitutionality of this provision of the state law on the violation of the Fourteenth Amendment rather than on the Commerce Clause of the Constitution. The important concurring opinion of Mr. Justice Douglas places the right of human beings to move like free citizens of a free country from state to state in a "more protected position in our Continental system" than the movement of cattle and other kinds of property. That Justice Douglas regards this

right of human beings in the United States as "fundamental" gives significant reassurance to social workers from our highest court.

Justice Douglas said:

The right to move freely from State to State is an incident of *national* citizenship protected by the privileges and immunities clause of the Fourteenth Amendment against state interference. . . .

The conclusion that the right of free movement is a right of *national* citizenship stands on firm historical ground. . . . A state statute which obstructs or in substance prevents that movement must fall. The result necessarily follows unless perchance a State can curtail the right of free movement of those who are poor or destitute. But to allow such an exception to be engrafted on the rights of *national* citizenship would be to contravene every conception of national unity. It would also introduce a caste system utterly incompatible with the spirit of our system of government. It would permit those who were stigmatized by a State as indigents, paupers, or vagabonds to be relegated to an inferior class of citizenship. It would prevent a citizen because he was poor from seeking new horizons in other States. It might thus withhold from large segments of our people that mobility which is basic to any guarantee of freedom of opportunity. The result would be a substantial dilution of the rights of *national* citizenship, a serious impairment of the principles of equality. Since the state statute here challenged involves such consequences, it runs afoul of the privileges and immunities clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

Mr. Justice Jackson, recently attorney-general of the United States, was eloquent in his statement about the purpose of the Fourteenth Amendment, which, he says, was "adopted to make United States citizenship the dominant and paramount allegiance among us."

The return which the law had long associated with allegiance was protection. The power of citizenship as a shield against oppression was widely known from the example of Paul's Roman citizenship, which sent the centurion scurrying to his higher-ups with the message: "Take Heed what thou doest; for this man is a Roman." I suppose none of us doubts that the hope of imparting to American citizenship some of this vitality was the purpose of declaring in the Fourteenth Amendment: "All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States. . . ."

This Court should hold squarely that it is a privilege of citizenship of the United States, protected from state abridgment, to enter any state of the Union, either for temporary sojourn or for the establishment of permanent residence therein and for gaining resultant citizenship thereof. If national citizenship means less than this, it means nothing.

The Jackson opinion also calls attention to the relation between national citizenship and the duty of compulsory military service:

If I doubted whether his federal citizenship alone were enough to open the gates of California to [the indigent man], my doubt would disappear on consideration of the obligation of such citizenship. [The indigent man] owes a duty to render military service, and this Court has said that this duty is the result of his citizenship.

Justice Jackson refers to the opinion in the *Selective Draft Law Cases*, 245 U.S. 366, in which the Court said: "It may not be doubted that the very conception of a just government and its duty to the citizen includes the reciprocal obligation of the citizen to render military service in case of need and the right to compel it." Justice Jackson adds:

A contention that a citizen's duty to render military service is suspended by "indigence" would meet with little favor. Rich or penniless, the indigent man's citizenship under the Constitution pledges his strength to the defense of California as a part of the United States, and his right to migrate to any part of the land he must defend is something he must respect under the same instrument. Unless this Court is willing to say that citizenship of the United States means at least this much to the citizen, then our heritage of constitutional privileges and immunities is only a promise to the ear to be broken to the hope, a teasing illusion like a munificent bequest in a pauper's will.

In this important decision our highest court has cracked the hard shell of tradition in which the old settlement provisions of the poor laws have been wrapped. But much remains to be done before the position of the migratory laborer has been made secure. Now that the old provision which made it an offense for a man to bring a poor relative into the state has been found to be unconstitutional, a further question may well be raised about the provision which warns citizens of the United States to depart from the boundaries of the state in which they wish to live. The "warning-out" system belongs to the earliest days of New England, but it has been unfortunately copied in some of the states of the western plains. A series of recent state supreme court opinions on this subject are of more than ordinary interest—for example, in North Dakota, *Adams County v. Burleigh County*, 291 N.W. 281 (1940); in South Dakota, *Custer County v. Reichelt*, 293 N.W. 862 (1940); in Kansas, *State v. Lange*, 83 P. (2d) 653 (1938). All these old "warning-out" laws should now fail.

Some method must also be found of repealing, or invalidating by some other process, the old poor law provision that makes possible the compulsory removal to other states of nonresident indigents who have become

a public charge.<sup>2</sup> This iniquity, which has been under protest for more than three centuries, has become more serious with the depression.

The recent investigation conducted by the New York State Welfare Department<sup>3</sup> contains for the first time a valuable collection of data that throw light on the basic question at issue—that is, how far any one state would suffer if all the settlement restrictions were entirely removed. The New York inquiry relates only to the counties of a single state, but it shows clearly that the counties go through a costly process of collecting from other counties the cost of supporting persons without settlement. In the long run, since they in turn pay to other counties for the support of the persons who belong to them, they are about where they would be financially if none of these transactions took place. In only four counties of New York did the counties gain enough more than they paid out to justify proceedings. However, these were prosperous counties, increasing in population and attracting workers to their area. It would be only fair that these counties should have a heavier share of the cost of supporting the destitute as part of the cost of their prosperity. This situation has been conspicuously true of the state of California.

Now that some distinguished members of the United States Supreme Court have said clearly that the right of free movement from state to state is a right of national citizenship, there may well be an end to the compulsory transportation of so-called indigents or paupers across state lines.

#### WAR, FAMINE, AND PESTILENCE

THE two dread commanders that follow the invading armies—General Pestilence and General Famine—are making swift marches in Europe today. The tragedy of Greece is to be read in every newspaper. The triumph of General Famine has been complete, and people have been dying in the streets of Athens this past winter at the rate of a thousand or two every day.

What has been called “the tragic odyssey of the homeless that began

<sup>2</sup> See the recent much-discussed case of the Ohio shoemaker who, after very costly litigation, was removed from New York to Ohio *vi et armis* (*In re Chirillo*, 283 N.Y. 417) only to return to New York a few days later (see *University of Chicago Law Review*, IX [February, 1941], 337, n. 23). The lack of a planned rational policy is completely absent in these cases. And the recent article in this *Review* (XV, 432-43) on the New York investigation of the issues of settlement and removal showed that the whole process was without any proved benefits.

<sup>3</sup> See Glenn E. Jackson, “Settlement and Social Welfare in New York State,” in this *Review*, XV (September, 1941), 432-43.

on the scarred roads of Poland," has been repeated and has "lengthened, country by country, until the dark trail of human misery now encircles the earth" (*New York Times*, February 27, 1942). This winter has been one of the worst periods of suffering known to men now living. As we read that the retreating German armies are burning what is left of villages they evacuate, we see the hungry women and children and the old, the feeble, and the sick who once lived in those villages, homeless and fugitive in the bitter cold and darkness. Is the suffering of the civilian populations necessary? Or could some way be found to rescue these people before it is too late?

President Roosevelt said at his morning press conference on January 30 that it was difficult to get food and relief supplies into German-occupied countries. He added that the United States must make certain such shipments did not fall into the hands of the enemy. Secretary of State Cordell Hull at a later press conference said he had no knowledge of any American relief supplies for unoccupied France having been seized by Germany or diverted to Germany from unoccupied France (*New York Times*, February 4, 1942). And at American Red Cross headquarters on the same day a spokesman stated that Richard L. Allen, Red Cross delegate in Europe from May, 1940, to October, 1941, had reported that no Red Cross relief supplies in large or small quantities had been seized or pilfered by the Germans. Mr. Allen, now in Washington, supervised the distribution. That is, the American Red Cross has been able, as well as the Quakers, to safeguard such food as has been sent to prevent General Famine from taking over some of the hungry regions of Europe. The situation in Greece is stark tragedy. After Undersecretary of State Welles officially recognized the starvation in Greece, Mrs. Anne O'Hare McCormick said in the *New York Times* (February 7, 1942):

Every word that has filtered out of Athens this Winter, whether it comes via Ankara, London, Berne . . . shows that the fate of Greece is the worst of all the captive countries. Poland is suffering the cruelest persecution, the children of Belgium are emaciated by hunger, but Greeks are dying every day by the thousands from starvation.

The thin, transparent air and the wine-colored sea are about all the conquerors have left in that poor, austere beautiful land. . . . At the foot of the Acropolis the Greeks drop dead of hunger. Deaths in Athens and the Piraeus occur at the rate of nearly 2,000 a day. Children are succumbing by the hundreds every day to epidemics of diphtheria and cholera. The Greek Government-in-exile published a White Paper in London this week charging that the bread ration has been reduced to less than one ounce daily—when it can be procured. The country has been so denuded, the report says, that there is no wood for coffins and no horses to draw the hearses to the cemetery.



We all echo Mrs. McCormick's statement that "it is a heart-breaking picture, a picture that shames humanity. . . ." The question is what can we do about it—and what are we going to do about it? Can the International Red Cross and the Friends Service Committee act as our almoners? Or shall we let these victims of the war starve while we are busy with a plan to help them after we have won the war—if they are there to be helped. It is well that we read thoughtfully, and with a full understanding of our responsibility, a further statement of Mrs. McCormick:

Certainly every American will wish aid sent to the starving Greeks if it is humanly possible. We owe them a great debt for showing up the weakness of the Italians and for fighting the valiant delaying action which enabled the British to retreat from Greece and Crete. Now they are dying faster than they died under German bombs, and this is as disastrous as a lost battle. Furthermore, there is little use planning an invasion of Europe by way of the Balkan peninsula if the armies expected to rally to the support of the liberators are armies of ghosts and skeletons. Among the overwhelming responsibilities we take on as belligerents, none is of greater importance than to strengthen the resistance and keep alive the hope of occupied Europe.

Vast areas of Russia are now devastated and desolate. As scores of thousands of men have struggled for victory and the armies have faced the snows, blizzards, and fierce winds of the Russian winter, General Pestilence has been waiting for his postponed victory. "While men fight and die and find their graves in the Russian snows, while the world's greatest armies are locked in a staggering struggle of exhaustion and attrition," there is disease waiting for victor and vanquished.

A dispatch to the *New York Times* from Berne, Switzerland, February 3, reported that "spotted typhus has spread from the Eastern Front to Germany and the Nazi-occupied areas," according to a German Health Ministry announcement. We are told that

a demarcation line along the old Polish-German border has been established at which persons coming from the East are examined for lice, a primary typhus carrier. . . . The small village of Pernick, in Bulgaria, was mentioned as one where typhus has broken out. . . . Though the German Health Ministry professed the belief that Germany and Western Europe were not threatened by typhus, Danish doctors who met at Copenhagen to discuss the disease noted a sharp increase in the number of persons infested with the germ-carrying lice.

Other dispatches reported that the German postal chief in Poland had forbidden the forwarding of packages and letters from Jews. The tragic situation of the Jewish population is well known. They have been segregated in the miserable insanitary Nazi-ordained ghettos without even the most primitive kind of health protection.



Also on February 3, a dispatch from Madrid reported that Spain was "in pressing need of anti-typhus serum to prevent the disease from becoming more general in the country." Official figures on the prevalence of typhus were lacking, but the starving condition of the Spanish people is reported to have made them fall easy victims to the disease.

The need for serum was greater this year than last and since the country's preparations had not caught up with its requirements, it must look for help from foreign sources, particularly Britain and the Western Hemisphere. Doctors are supplementing Spanish supplies of serum with the small quantities brought in by embassies for their staffs.

The spread of the disease in Madrid was encouraged by the crowded transportation systems, among other things, which forced contact with potential bearers. Authorities also were finding trouble in taking proper precautions because of the coal shortage.

Surely, if we care enough, we can find a way to help before it is too late.

#### CHILDREN AND THE WARTIME CROPS

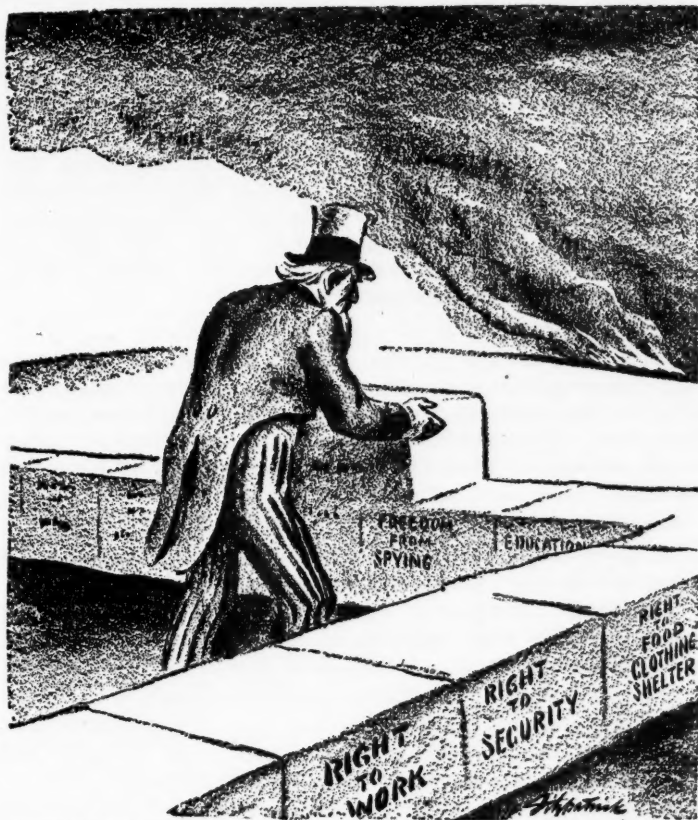
THE safeguarding of young workers who may be called upon in some areas to help harvest the nation's wartime crops has been urged by four federal agencies—by the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor, the United States Department of Agriculture, the United States Office of Education, and the United States Employment Service. An important statement on this subject has been issued by the Children's Bureau, with the other three agencies concurring.

The statement establishes the principle that the recruiting of young persons to supplement the agricultural labor force, while it may be a necessary wartime measure, must be planned with consideration for the health and welfare of the young people involved and must respect their rights in a democracy.

It is basic to the rights of children that schoolwork and home duties be regarded as the full-time job of every child under fourteen years of age. Such children should not be employed in agriculture outside the home farm except in unforeseen and extraordinary public emergencies. Likewise, the education of boys and girls above fourteen years should be interrupted only if no other workers can be made available. In all cases plans for the employment of such young people should be made with full regard to the child labor and school attendance laws.

The Children's Bureau statement of policy, in addition to defining the principles underlying the agricultural recruitment of young workers, offers specific recommendations with regard to proper procedure. Every

plan involving the use of young workers on the farms should be developed as part of a broad program based on the consideration of all available sources of labor and the wages and working conditions offered to adults.



Fitzpatrick in "St. Louis Post-Dispatch"

#### FOUNDATION FOR THE PEACE ERA

State departments of education, labor, and agriculture are urged to participate in the development of policies and the possible modification of school programs, and it is recommended that proposals for the employment of young workers during normal school terms should be approved only after the Farm Placement Service of the United States Employment Service, with full information on the labor situation, has declared that

the anticipated need for labor cannot be filled by older persons who live in the community or within a reasonable distance.

When these precautions have been taken, if it is determined that there is a real need that can be met only by recruiting young people from school to help during harvesting peaks, the statement of policy recommends that the following procedure be adopted.

Before the younger children are called upon, those aged sixteen years and over should be engaged, and the schools should make every effort to develop programs that will wisely dovetail school activities with agricultural work and will result in no curtailing of school terms. Children fourteen and fifteen years of age should not be released from school nor should their school programs be modified unless it is found that the need for farm labor is an essential one and cannot be met in any other practicable way; in such circumstances adjustments in school attendance and programs should be arranged to interfere as little as possible with normal school opportunities and progress.

Finally, the statement of policy declares that

Young workers should be placed in agricultural work only where their health and welfare are safeguarded through reasonable hours of work; equitable wages at not less than established prevailing rates; safe and suitable transportation where needed; and for those living away from home to be near their work, provision of fully adequate housing accommodations, supervision, and leisure-time activities.

It is believed that these policies will not only safeguard young people called upon to help in harvesting the crops but will make possible a really constructive participation of youth in the nation's productive effort.

The Board of Trustees of the National Child Labor Committee, acting upon reports from many states that there is a shortage of agricultural labor and that consideration is being given to relaxing educational and child-labor standards to permit school children to engage in emergency agricultural work, has also issued recently a similar statement of principles that it believes should govern such action. The National Child Labor Committee points out that "one of the requisites in preserving the essential strength and soundness of our democracy is to safeguard the health, vitality, and education of all citizens, especially those in the formative years of life."

#### MAINTAINING CHILD LABOR STANDARDS

**E**VEN before Pearl Harbor it was clear that the defense emergency was responsible for a grave increase in child labor. The situation is rapidly becoming worse. Last fall the United States Children's Bureau issued a warning regarding the new danger to children and young workers

as a result of the industrial change that was in progress. An article in the *Child* showed the following facts:

Early in the spring of 1941 evidence of this increase was noted in reports received by the Bureau from local certificate-issuing officials co-operating in the enforcement of the child-labor provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act.<sup>1</sup> So rapid was the increase in the number of certificates requested that these officials were finding it impossible to meet the demand without additional staff. Incomplete reports from 13 States<sup>2</sup> and the District of Columbia, where certificates for minors of 16 and 17 years are required under State law, show in round numbers 79,000 certificates issued in the first 6 months of 1941 as compared with 30,000 in the first 6 months of 1940, an increase of more than 160 per cent. In 21 States where the State law does not require such certificates for the employment of 16- and 17-year-old minors but where they are issued on request, incomplete returns show approximately 15,000 certificates issued for such minors in 1940 as compared with 8,000 in 1939; in the first 6 months of 1941 the total rose to approximately 20,000. This figure is almost as large as the number issued in the entire 2 years 1939 and 1940 combined and represents an increase of 282 per cent over the corresponding 6 months of 1940.

Reports for June and July, 1941, show marked increases over the same months of 1940. In June and July, 1941, in the areas reporting, 9,348 children<sup>3</sup> 14 and 15 years of age went to work at regular or vacation employment, chiefly the latter, compared to 3,784 in the corresponding months of 1940, an increase of 147 per cent. For the 16- and 17-year-old group the increases varied from 250 per cent in States where certificates are required by law to 375 per cent in States where they are not required but are issued on request. These figures are:

CERTIFICATES ISSUED FOR 16- AND 17-YEAR-OLD MINORS

	June- July 1940	June- July 1941	Per Cent of In- crease
States and cities where certificates are required . . . . .	8,873	31,059	250
States and cities where certificates are not required . . . . .	3,313	15,725	375

Another indication of an upward trend in employment of minors under the impact of the defense program is found in the number of placements of young

<sup>1</sup> In most states, state certificates issued under the state law by these officials are accepted as proof of age under the Fair Labor Standards Act.

<sup>2</sup> Alabama, Connecticut, Ohio, Georgia, Indiana, Massachusetts, Michigan, New York, North Carolina, Oregon, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, and Tennessee. For some of these states reports are not state wide but cover only certain cities; for certain others data for the entire six months' period are not available.

<sup>3</sup> Excluding 670 children, for whom certificates for work in agriculture were issued in June and July, 1941, in New Jersey, a state where certificates were not required for work in agriculture in these months of 1940.

persons made by public employment offices throughout the country and reported to the Bureau of Employment Security of the Social Security Board. These figures do not, however, reflect the actual extent of employment, as only a small proportion of persons who get jobs get them through such placement offices. Jobs found for 16- and 17-year-old minors<sup>4</sup> numbered 26 per cent more in 1940 than in 1939, and in 1941 the number placed rose steadily month by month from January through July, with the sharpest upturn in the last 2 months. In these 7 months together placements of 16- and 17-year-old minors were 92 per cent greater than during the corresponding 7 months of 1940.

Moreover, in view of the large increase in employment of boys and girls of 16 and 17 at this early stage of the defense program, care must be exercised to see that the new employment opportunity will be beneficial to all youth engaged in it. Pressure toward breakdowns of child-labor and school-attendance standards is already evident. Such pressure appears to be an inevitable accompaniment of the strain that accompanies any intense and Nation-wide productive effort, such as this country is now making and must continue to make. But the impact of this strain on young people must be made as light as possible. They will have a major responsibility for the character of American life for the next half century, and potential dangers to their welfare must be foreseen and averted by wise planning.

The *Child* notes that the upswing in employment brings to our attention some grave problems with respect to children under sixteen. It is important to remember that without sufficient legal safeguards reinforced by good administration, the situation may rapidly become serious and result in a breakdown of the standards which have been developed through the years.

This increase in employment of young workers has extended to all sections of the country. Placements of sixteen- and seventeen-year-old boys and girls in more than half the states increased by more than 100 per cent, and in eight states and the District of Columbia the number of placements at least tripled.

#### ENGLAND'S WARTIME JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

SOME important facts regarding the increase of juvenile delinquency in England since the outbreak of the war in 1939, with some significant "don'ts" for America, are found in a cable dispatch from Mr. William H. Stoneman, London correspondent of the *Chicago Daily News* (Febru-

<sup>4</sup> In the case of children under sixteen, placement statistics are so much influenced by legal minimum-age standards and by administrative policy regarding referrals of children of this age to employers, that they are thought not to be an accurate reflection of employment trends for this age group.

ary 4). Things that Mr. Stoneman believes will probably not happen here but which have "sent juvenile delinquency soaring in Britain" are first pointed out:

American youth probably will not be faced by the temptations of the black-out—bombed stores and houses. Night after night and month after month of shelter life, with all its sordid results, probably will not be necessary. Children will not be evacuated to strange surroundings where emotional distress can ruin their equilibrium.

The dispatch then lists important don'ts for America. It is pointed out that Great Britain "in the confusion of wartime has made certain mistakes" which have also played a part in the increasing juvenile-delinquency rates, and these don'ts which it is suggested British experience dictates to the United States are as follows:

1. Don't close schools anywhere if you can help it. Don't call up school teachers for service or let them enlist; expand instead of cutting down on normal educational facilities.

2. Don't close any clubs or other recreation centers. Increase activities of such organizations as Knights of Columbus, Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., and all settlements and playgrounds. A good Boy Scout or Y.M.C.A. leader or a good playground supervisor can do more for his country by sticking to his job than by trying to learn to fire a rifle.

3. Avoid the breakup of families by conscripting fathers for military service or mothers for industry. If it is necessary to conscript them or to allow them to enlist, be sure that every child has some responsible relative or friend to care for him.

4. Don't throw an army of youngsters into industry any old way and limit the amount of cash paid to young people employed in industry.

Special emphasis is laid in the Stoneman dispatch on the serious effects that have been the result in England of "the disruption of school life and the resulting 'officially sanctioned truancy.'" Even where schools have continued to operate in safe areas, "systems have been disorganized by calling up capable teachers for active service." This is said to have been "a sad mistake and one for which England will pay for a generation."

What is called the "wholesale and disastrous policy of commandeering club premises" and the use of club directors for war services of different kinds are strongly condemned. It is reported that "hundreds of those clubs have gone completely out of action and that thousands of children who depended upon them for recreation have had to find it in other ways . . . and that thousands of children who should be granted proper recreational facilities have been turned out onto the streets."



Although Mr. Stoneman suggests that this situation is now being corrected in England by the development of a great system of youth centers throughout the country, he reports that everyone in England admits that the situation should never have arisen and that it certainly can be prevented from arising in the United States.

Serious results in England that call for special emphasis have come from the breaking-up of homes, resulting from various causes—bombings and the destruction of homes, conscription of fathers, mothers working in munition plants, and other factors that have had tragic results.

High wages for young workers are also credited with having "caused just about as much wartime youthful crime in England as any other factor." Although an attempt may be made in England to limit the amount of cash payable to workers below the ages of seventeen or eighteen while the rest of the wages due them is placed in savings accounts or war-savings certificates, some serious damage cannot be undone.

The closing paragraph of the *Daily News* dispatch is so important that it may well be quoted in full:

British social workers, who have traditionally quarreled with the British educational system for releasing children for work at the age of 14, suggest that the United States should maintain as many children in school as long as possible. If large numbers under 17 years old do go into industry then they believe some limitation might be found desirable.

British experience, as Mr. Stoneman suggests, offers a "laboratory experiment for the benefit of Americans." Let us hope that it will not be overlooked or disregarded.

#### FEDERAL UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION

THE *Review* is glad to have in this current issue Professor Haber's timely article on the federal government's responsibility for unemployment compensation. As we go to press, the news comes from Washington that the House Ways and Means Committee has refused to report favorably on the bill providing a special federal fund of \$300,000,000 for additional unemployment benefits for workers who have been disemployed by the changing over of certain industries to meet war-production needs. The proposed federal benefits for these men would save them from the humiliation of applying for relief to supplement unemployment compensation benefits that either are inadequate or have expired under the state system by which they are covered. It is to be hoped that some way may yet be found to make possible this greatly needed assistance for the



workers who must suffer from unemployment while they are waiting to be called for war production. The powerful political objection to the bill brought out in the hearings before the House committee was the fear



Fitzpatrick in "St. Louis Post-Dispatch"

#### ANY AID FOR THIS WAR VICTIM?

that the way might be opened for making the unemployment compensation system a federal service. In some states the opposition to a federalization of the system is the honest competent judgment of state administrators who believe their system is superior on an independent basis to anything that will come with federalization. But the effective lobby

against the bill undoubtedly represented the opposition of the political interests of the states. Governors and administrators know that various political ends can be served through holding the unemployment compensation administration where it is.

Some of the state directors, including Paul Rauschenbush of Wisconsin, whose opinion is entitled to respect, issued the following statement explaining their position.

It is submitted that, far more nearly related to the stated objectives—of preventing needless migration and encouraging training for war production—would be a program directly and solely designated to give the desired training to unemployed workers.

Displaced workers of the type and in the number selected for induction into the program should be compensated by a training wage with no dependence on any state's unemployment compensation act. Traveling expenses for trainees and other unemployed workers going to designated jobs should likewise assist needed re-allocation of necessary labor.

Such provisions unrelated to unemployment compensation features, would expedite the early and efficient establishment of a training program and encourage the participation of the desired type and number of workers.

On the other hand, widespread unemployment compensation payments of the same amount as trainee wages would not encourage training, would discourage needed migration, and would destroy incentives for the immediate development of a sound training program.

Congressman Tolan, distinguished for his work in behalf of migratory labor, offered the following suggestions, which are worthy of careful consideration:

1. As drawn, benefits are confined to those workers displaced as a result of the war program. The fulfillment of the Victory program requires the most effective contribution of all our workers whether previously unemployed or disemployed for reasons other than the war program. I, therefore, urge that benefits be extended to all workers who are unemployed desiring to take a prescribed training course.

2. The committee has found that the distribution of defense work is such as to provide little expectation for war work in their home communities for hundreds of thousands of workers. I, therefore, urge that in addition to subsistence, funds be made available, upon certification by the employment service, to defray the costs of moving to other cities. Investigations of destitute migration have impressed upon the committee the need for such provision, both as regards the maintenance of morale and the democratic control of the labor market which such a plan affords. It is our belief that if assistance were granted for directed migration, the tendency of workers to migrate blindly in search of work will be minimized.

3. The committee has found discrimination by reason of race, creed and national origins to be factors seriously affecting the most efficient use of our labor force. I, therefore, urge the inclusion of a provision prohibiting such discrimination in the allocation of assistance or training.

4. In order that the dislocations may be minimized the training program should be planned on a regional basis, taking into account the productive resources of the region, both material and machine, as converted to war production.

Many supporters of federalization (and we belong in that group) recognize that some states have done well in the administration of unemployment compensation; but there are too many inequities in a situation which means that a man's benefit is determined solely by the accident of residence. Moreover, the present situation is one of the war emergencies, and there is no longer time for leisurely debate. In many states there will be great and undeserved suffering if some federal substitute for the \$300,000,000 appropriation is not found promptly.

#### APPEALS FOR WAR SERVICE FUNDS

THE national Association of Community Chests and Councils makes an interesting report in its monthly bulletin, *Community*, of a study undertaken in January of this year regarding the current methods of handling war-fund appeals. The C.C. and C. report, which is summarized in an article entitled "What's Doing in War Funds?" deals with the situation regarding war chests, united funds, special war-appeal review boards, and the relation of war appeals to community-chest campaigns.

Information from early returns is said to point toward war-appeal review committees as a popular policy. Information received from community chests in ninety-six cities showed that thirty-one had in operation some form of review board to pass on war appeals proposed for their communities; twelve other cities had such boards under consideration. "Separate" war chests to raise money for war-relief appeals apart from community-chest campaigns had been established in only three cities, and one of these was reported as "not active." However, five other communities were considering this move.

In seventeen cities united funds to raise both community-chest and war-relief money have been established; in seven others this type of campaign was being considered. Nine other cities report interest in establishing either a separate war chest to raise war-relief funds or a united fund (as above) but had not yet made definite decisions in either direction.

As a further result of this study, a summary of the co-operation of community chests with the local chapters of the American National Red Cross in its current drive will be issued.

The following illustrations of the returns are abbreviated from the article in *Community* for February, 1942:

One of the early review boards was the Committee on Foreign Appeals, in Jersey City. This committee was appointed by the mayor, at the suggestion of and in co-operation with the local community chest and council. A city commissioner is among its members. The committee meets on call of the chairman whenever a request for review of an appeal is received.

Up to the end of 1941, this review committee, organized the previous spring, had passed on twelve appeals, approving seven of them. Because of the official nature of the committee, all disapprovals were effective and no questions were raised nor further action taken by the organizations whose appeals were refused. All organizations receiving the approval of the committee were asked to mention the fact in their newspaper publicity.

In Phoenix, Arizona, a United War Relief Fund has been organized and incorporated to serve jointly as a war chest and war appeal review committee. The organization was formed to unite appeals of the Red Cross War Fund, U.S.O., recreation program for local military personnel, and any other nationally approved war relief appeals which have been approved also by the local organization. Although the plans were changed to the extent of indorsing a separate Red Cross campaign, the objectives are unaltered. The Phoenix United War Fund does not include the community chest.

In Saginaw, Michigan, also, the County War Board acts, *ipso facto*, as a review board. F. R. McKeever, executive secretary of the War Board and of the Community Chest, explains that "due to the strength of the present setup and the tradition of the old War Board of 1917-18, there is no doubt in anyone's mind as to this Board's absolute local control of fund appeals including when, how, and for whom they will be made. In fact, no fund-raising effort would have a chance in this community without the War Board's approval or direction." The Saginaw War Board is organized "to raise funds for Red Cross War Relief, U.S.O., and other approved or legitimate voluntarily supported war work." It also will handle any large-scale county-wide campaign to sell Defense Bonds. It has concluded an outstandingly successful drive for the current Red Cross appeal.

Like the Phoenix war appeal organization, the Saginaw County War Board does not at present contemplate unifying its efforts with those of the community chest campaign organization. Local leadership is convinced, as of the present at least, that the next community chest campaign should be handled separately and that the methods and campaign organization of the chest should be used exclusively by the chest.

Boston is said to be the most sensational example of a big over-all United War Fund, including normal and emergency appeals under its Big Top.

St. Louis reported active plans for a unified war chest, in which it is planned to include the community chest, Red Cross, and U.S.O., together with other approved war appeals. Within the setup would be a War Appeals Review Committee to pass upon any appeals proposed for the community. The plan would require that all organizations proposing to make appeals must file information with the review committee and that, if approved, such an appeal would become a part of the War Chest. If not approved, publicity would be given to that fact.

From Rochester, N.Y., came a report that its chest is still operating under the charter granted it in 1918, which was broad enough to include appropriations to foreign relief of all kinds and is just as effective today. No change in structure is necessary, therefore, for the Rochester chest to be all inclusive, and its board has voted as its objective for next spring inclusion of all worthy appeals of every description in one campaign, with a hoped-for objective, also, of some sort of co-ordination between the British, Chinese, and Russian appeals into one allied relief fund.

Pasadena, Calif., in January launched a united appeal, under the name Pasadena War Chest, including the local Red Cross current campaign in its quota, as well as funds for the local Citizen's Committee for the Army and Navy.

Rochester, Minnesota, and its county have a new and fully organized War Defense Chest, which includes the community chest as a member with the U.S.O. and probably China Relief. There is strong sentiment, also, for inclusion of the Red Cross appeal, although this has not been accomplished.

Other interesting examples of war-appeal review boards and united appeals are promised by the Community Chests and Councils as its study progresses.

#### THE AMERICAN RED CROSS AND THE PUBLIC WELFARE AGENCIES

A VERY important "policy statement" governing the relationship of the American Red Cross and public welfare agencies with regard to services to the armed forces as developed by the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services, the American Public Welfare Association, and the American Red Cross was published as a supplement to the *Public Welfare News* last January.

Questions have been raised from time to time during the past year as to the position of the new public welfare and public assistance agencies in the emergency. These agencies have been, for the most part, developed

since the first World War. During that war the Red Cross was called on to provide services that are today normal activities of normal public agencies.

The following statement is so important that the *Review* is glad to be able to publish it in full, through the courtesy of the *Public Welfare News* and the American Public Welfare Association:

This statement was prepared by representatives of the American Red Cross, the American Public Welfare Association, and the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services as a result of the conference requested by the American Public Welfare Association Committee on Relationship with the Red Cross:

1. The American Red Cross recognizes the basic responsibility of government for the relief of persons in need of basic maintenance.
2. Governmental agencies recognize that the American Red Cross has been designated by the Army and Navy as the official agency to render service to men in the armed forces and their families.
3. It is recognized that governmental agencies and the American Red Cross have a mutual need for working agreements on state and local bases that will guide community planning and efficient operation of services to the armed forces.

#### AMERICAN RED CROSS

The work of the American Red Cross for some years has included:

1. Within the United States, among other functions:
    - a) Services to armed forces
      - (1) Home Service to service and ex-service men and their families
      - (2) Medical social service and recreation in Army and Navy hospitals
      - (3) Service at Army posts and Naval Stations
    - b) Home Service to civilians
    - c) Disaster relief
    - d) Nursing
    - e) First aid, life saving, and accident prevention
    - f) Nutrition
    - g) Junior Red Cross
    - h) Volunteer special services
  2. Insular and foreign operations
- Working agreements on a state and local basis will be concerned chiefly with (a) home service to service and ex-service men and their families; (b) home service to civilians; and (c) disaster relief.

#### HOME SERVICE PROGRAM FOR SERVICE AND EX-SERVICE MEN AND THEIR FAMILIES

The primary responsibility of Home Service is to assist service and ex-service men and their families in meeting those needs which arise from the man's service



in the armed forces. Home Service in chapters carries out this responsibility through the following functions:

1. *Communication and information service.*—Assistance with communications between service men and their families and inquiry in regard to their welfare; information concerning regulations and legislation affecting service and ex-service men and their dependents.

2. *Reporting service.*—Co-operation with the military and naval authorities by obtaining social history material required for medical treatment and by making reports on home conditions needed by commanding officers in deciding questions of discharge, furlough or clemency.

3. *Claims service.*—Assistance to disabled ex-service men and their dependents and to dependents of deceased men in presenting claims for compensation and other government benefits.

4. *Family service.*—*Financial aid* for special needs not provided for from public funds and basic maintenance when public relief is not available; *consultation and helpful activity* directed toward meeting those family difficulties which do not require financial aid; *referral service*, enabling the client to make use of the resources of other organizations providing services not within the home service program.

#### HOME SERVICE POLICY IN INTERAGENCY RELATIONSHIPS

1. The functions of communication, information, reporting and claims service are discharged by the Red Cross itself, and are not transferable to other organizations. There should be clearance with other agencies for pertinent data available in records. These specialized services are available to clients of other agencies, and information and communication services are available to agencies directly in instances in which such assistance is needed by the agency itself.

2. The function of family service will be discharged by home service to the extent that any private family agency can meet family needs. Clients who are eligible for public relief will be referred to public welfare agencies, Home Service continuing with nonrelief services or supplementary financial assistance when needed. Clients ineligible for public relief, or for whom public relief is not available, are considered a responsibility of Home Service. In co-operating with other agencies offering specialized services (such as medical, psychiatric, vocational, and child-placement services), Home Service will work jointly with these agencies when combined services are necessary, or will make referrals to such agencies when their service rather than Home Service can meet the needs presented.

Cases currently active with other private family agencies may remain with those agencies, or representatives of both agencies will confer on individual cases to determine which agency will provide continuing family service.

#### HOME SERVICE PROGRAM FOR CIVILIANS

Home Service for civilians includes those activities carried on by chapters under volunteer and professional leadership in behalf of families or individuals



whose needs are not met through other agencies—public or private. These activities vary from chapter to chapter, depending upon the adequacy of the service to families of other agencies and may include general family service programs and various specialized services for families receiving aid from other agencies as well as for families not receiving assistance elsewhere. Dental corrections, tonsillectomies, the purchase of eye glasses, the provision of special clothing and shoes for school children, are examples of these activities. Some chapters participate in planning school lunches, group or family gardens, and in meeting needs for assistance to nonresidents and transients.

Red Cross chapters undertaking Home Service for civilians are expected by the American Red Cross to observe certain policies including the recognition of the priority of needs of service and ex-service men and their families and avoidance of duplication of existing work of a similar nature in the community.

#### PUBLIC WELFARE AGENCIES

The public welfare functions as seen in this country cannot be so specifically defined as those of the Red Cross. The obvious reason for this is that the public services are a composite of federal, state, and local administration. There are federal public welfare operations, such as the Farm Security Administration, the Work Projects Administration, and other similar services. The Federal Security Agency is in effect a national public welfare department, but without direct operating responsibility except in a few of its functions. Public assistance is a function in part supported by federal funds but with local and state operations dependent on state legislation.

Since the first World War this country has witnessed a growth of public welfare services in every state and locality. There is some personnel for public assistance and welfare services in or available to every county in the country. This is a new program which has profoundly influenced the ability of local and state governments to meet an increasing responsibility for the relief of suffering and distress.

The functions, organization, and even the philosophy of these agencies in the various states and counties differ widely. In this variation they do not differ too greatly from the local operations of other similar agencies, both public and private.

Every state has a legal and basic responsibility for the relief of those in need of support. Some states now fail to recognize this legal responsibility by refusing to appropriate funds. All states have assumed the obligation for the care of the aged under plans approved by the Social Security Board; most states have elected to care for dependent children, and for needy blind or variously handicapped people.

Most of these states affirm their belief in the policy which holds that public funds shall be spent by public agencies. Recent activities in support of this policy have required that all states provide a state-wide structure for public

welfare services. This structure is both complicated and uneven, but the tendency toward uniform standards of personnel and standards of assistance and care will some day provide for the United States the basic structure of public welfare services which will enable every community to meet not only the regular needs but many emergency or temporary services.

Public welfare agencies in localities have always recognized the need for some supplementary aid and services from private sources, and frequently they have looked to private services to initiate new programs. This will undoubtedly continue, so that the place of the private agencies in services to people will for a long time be recognized as essential in any community program.

Public welfare agencies are responsible for the following functions, although no single agency may incorporate all of them:

1. General home relief or public assistance for individuals and families in need of basic maintenance
2. Old age assistance
3. Aid to dependent children (and mothers' pensions)
4. Aid to needy blind (and blind pensions)
5. Medical care for those in need of assistance or (in some states or localities) for those unable to provide it out of their own resources
6. Child welfare services
7. Family consultation services
8. Services to the blind and other handicapped persons
9. Crippled children's services
10. Probation and parole services
11. Correctional program
  - a) Juvenile delinquency services
  - b) Operation of reformatories, workhouses, prisons
12. Mental hygiene
  - a) Operation and management of hospitals and clinics for mentally sick
13. Operation of general hospitals
14. Employment and rehabilitation services

#### JOINT RELATIONSHIPS

To make the most effective wartime use of all community resources, it is necessary for the local chapter of the American Red Cross and the public welfare agencies in each community to enter into agreements applicable to the specific needs and organization of the community based on the policies outlined above. Signed by:

GEOFFREY MAY, *Deputy Assistant Director of Defense Health and Welfare Services*

FRED HOEHLER, *Executive Director, American Public Welfare Association*

ROBERT BONDY, *Administrator, Services to the Armed Forces, American Red Cross*

The American Public Welfare Association has also pointed out in a news bulletin that this is, of course, "a general statement of policy," and "more specific agreements with the Red Cross will be developed by state departments of welfare and local welfare agencies"; and the Association adds that it is "important that public agencies operating public assistance programs safeguard the confidential nature of records. Such records must not be released without having full authorization in writing or to anyone except a person whose professional understanding of the job would provide a safeguard for their confidential nature."

### VOLUNTEERS IN FAMILY SECURITY PROGRAMS

ONE of the important questions social workers must consider today is how professional welfare programs can best use the services of volunteers. The Bureau of Public Assistance of the Social Security Board has issued a timely monograph<sup>1</sup> on this subject, which should be widely used. The point of view expressed in this monograph is that family security programs are an essential part of civilian defense and that welfare agencies, particularly public welfare agencies, are under an obligation to accept and to direct the services that will be offered by an increasing number of persons who are eager to share in defense activities. A good volunteer program would assure a wider understanding and increased support of welfare activities and would free trained workers for the skilled services, which will be more and more in demand. The ways in which volunteers may be helpful are discussed in Part I of this report, and Part II suggests a detailed outline for the development of the voluntary program.

### PERSONNEL NEEDS IN THE FEDERAL SOCIAL WELFARE SERVICES

THE United States Civil Service Commission has called our attention to the fact that the United States government needs additional high-grade personnel in the field of social welfare.

Men and women who have had responsible and varied experience are being sought to fill positions of leadership in administrative posts, in broad community planning and organization programs, and in important positions in other specialized fields.

<sup>1</sup> *Volunteers in Family Security Programs* (U.S. Social Security Board, Bureau of Public Assistance, Circ. 14 [Washington, D.C., 1941]). Pp. 25. Mimeographed.

It is hoped that experienced social workers will write to the United States Civil Service Commission for announcements of new examinations that are being planned so that the civil service register for social welfare positions can be greatly expanded.

Social workers who have not already registered with the National Roster of Scientific and Specialized Personnel are urged to do so at once. The National Roster provides a comprehensive list of highly trained Americans possessing special abilities in their respective fields. It is jointly administered by the United States Civil Service Commission and the National Resources Planning Board.

Names of registrants are now being suggested to appointing officers whenever there are no available eligibles on civil service registers. Registration is voluntary and does not constitute an application for examination or appointment.

Any social worker who has not already filled out and returned a questionnaire supplied by the National Roster is urged to do so at once. A questionnaire may be obtained by writing to the National Roster of Scientific and Specialized Personnel, Washington, D.C., asking for one, specifying your field of interest and experience.

#### THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT AND THE THIRTEENTH AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION

THE United States Supreme Court has again interpreted the Bill of Rights with reference to "due process of law," or the right of every man to his day in court before he can be subjected to the compulsory processes of the criminal law. The occasion for this recent opinion in the case of *Ira Taylor v. Georgia*<sup>1</sup> (1942) was provided by the state of Georgia, which in 1903 enacted a statute<sup>2</sup> under which any person who, in order to obtain money from another, contracted to perform services when, in fact, he did not intend to perform those services should be "deemed a cheat and swindler and on conviction punished as a misdemeanor."

In this case, Ira Taylor, a Negro, obtained the sum of \$19.50 as advanced wages for fifteen days' work, which, it is alleged, he did not intend to perform; for this he was indicted, tried, and convicted. It may be noted that, under the Georgia statutes, Taylor could not testify under oath. He was, however, allowed to make a statement and admitted the

<sup>1</sup> *U.S. Law Week*, Vol. X, sec. 4, January 12, 1942.

<sup>2</sup> *Georgia Code*, 1933, Title 26, secs. 7408 and 7409; see sec. 1039.

facts as stated. He pleaded, however, that the statutes under which he was indicted were repugnant to the Thirteenth Amendment of the United States Constitution as well as to the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, and this argument was found to be satisfactory to the entire court, with the exception of Justice Roberts, who took no part in the decision.

Mr. Justice Byrnes, who, until recently, represented the state of South Carolina in the United States Senate, delivered the opinion of the court, in which reference is made to two earlier decisions (*Clyatt v. United States*, 197 U.S. 207 [1905] and *Bailey v. Alabama*, 219 U.S. 219 [1911]). These opinions, however, supplement a series of striking decisions through which the status of the Negro in the southern states is consistently stabilized and secured. In 1923 there were the Arkansas cases (261 U.S. 86), where, after a riot in which mob violence was prevented by the state court's substantially promising a "legal lynching," the lives of twelve Negroes were saved and many others were released from prison by the decision that the trials had lacked the essential feature of a jury deliberating under conditions of security; in 1932 the Scottsboro cases (287 U.S. 45)<sup>3</sup> in Alabama laid down the principle that, in the trial of Negro defendants, the presence of Negroes on the jury and grand jury and the true enjoyment of the right to be represented by counsel are essential. In this instant case the court makes it equally clear that the right to "one's day in court," or the right to be tried by due process, rules out the possibility of the defendant's being reduced to a condition of forced labor. In fulfillment of an obligation to carry out a contractual obligation, one cannot be coerced into forced labor until the contract is executed. Such requirement would, in the opinion of the court, amount to peonage and violate both the Thirteenth and the Fourteenth amendments.

## NEWS FROM THE PROFESSIONAL SCHOOLS

### *Recent Statistics*

A REPORT on registration in the accredited schools of social work was released before the close of the year 1941 by the president of the Association of Schools of Social Work, Dr. Arlien Johnson, and the secretary, Miss Leona Massoth. This statistical report for the year 1940-41 is based on returns from thirty-eight different accredited institutions, together with data regarding students registered on November 1, 1941. The thirty-six American member-institutions, including twenty-five

<sup>3</sup> See also *Norris v. Alabama*, 294 U.S. 587 (1935); 293 U.S. 552.

schools of social work and eleven departments or divisions of social work, are all part of, or affiliated with, American universities or colleges. Eleven are in state universities, one is in a municipal university, while twenty-four are connected with endowed universities, and, of these, six are sectarian. Two of the schools are Canadian.

The number of full-time and part-time graduate students registered in the accredited schools on November 1 for the last ten years is shown in Table 1. For the first time in this decade the report shows a decrease in the number of students. The decrease in the total registration of full-time graduate students is entirely a decrease in men and is, of course,

TABLE 1  
FULL-TIME AND PART-TIME GRADUATE STUDENTS IN SCHOOLS OF  
SOCIAL WORK, NOVEMBER 1, 1932-41

YEAR (NOVEMBER 1)	TOTAL NUMBER OF GRADUATE STUDENTS	NUMBER OF FULL-TIME GRADUATE STUDENTS			NUMBER OF PART-TIME GRADUATE STUDENTS
		Total	Men	Women	
1941.....	4,478	2,464	485	1,979	2,014
1940.....	4,899	2,622	650	1,972	2,277
1939.....	4,605	2,417	581	1,836	2,188
1938.....	4,418	2,147	491	1,656	2,271
1937.....	4,070*	1,985	381	1,604	2,085*
1936.....	4,125	1,864	359*	1,501*	2,261
1935.....	3,970	1,797	362	1,435	2,173
1934.....	3,910	1,940	402	1,538	1,970
1933.....	1,981	1,015	156	859	966
1932.....	1,569	936	153	783	633

\* Incomplete because of "not reported" items.

explained as the effect of the Selective Service Act. With the decline of 25 per cent in the registration of men, there was an extremely slight gain of seven women students. In general, the schools reported a substantial falling-off in applications for admission, so that the student group was recruited from a smaller list of applicants. Several schools have reported that the second-year registration has been maintained but report a falling-off in the beginning work.

The new services such as U.S.O. have recruited their staff largely from the ranks of experienced workers, and fear is expressed that a shortage of workers will be found in the near future in the basic services. There will also be difficulty in meeting an expanded demand in the social services related to the war emergency when the expected expansion comes.

For the large urban schools the term "part-time students" is not altogether satisfactory, since it includes both the workers in local agencies who are taking one- or two-hour courses a week and also the students who have completed the classroom and field-work programs and are giving all their time to work on a thesis. They may be registered only for a single course, but they are really full-time students with their research work as a major interest. The students in this last category should be classified as "full-time" students, although they do not appear as "full-time" in the registration lists. In addition, 305 students were reported by the schools as "actively at work on theses" but were not registered at all.

Of the thirty-eight accredited schools, there were, last November, ten with fewer than twenty-five full-time graduate students each. Table 2 shows the schools classified as to the total number of students.

TABLE 2  
REGISTRATION DURING THE ACADEMIC YEAR 1940-41

No. of Students	No. of Schools
Less than 100 students.....	12
100 and less than 200.....	10
200 and less than 300.....	6
300 and less than 400.....	6
400 and less than 600.....	2
1,000 and over.....	2
Total.....	38

There continues to be ground for encouragement in the substantial increase in the number of students who have received higher degrees. Table 3 shows, for the last nine years, a large increase in the number of students who completed a prescribed curriculum and received either a higher degree or a diploma or certificate. The term "higher degree" here includes the A.M. and Sc.M. degrees, the Ph.D. degree, and the professional degrees of M.S.W. and M.S.S. The increase in the number of men receiving either a higher degree or a diploma continues to be very significant.

The report also shows the impressive number of 128 students attending the schools last November on "educational leave" from the public social services, and a large number—223—on "educational leave" for 1940-41.

Seven schools reported 347 students in extra-mural classes as of last November. The report also presents a table showing nine schools with 519 extra-mural students in 1940-41, an indication of the effort being made by the schools to reach the workers who cannot leave their work,



even for professional training. There is danger, of course, in the requests for extra-mural work, since all the schools are understaffed and have limited resources for the heavy burden of the work they must carry.

Finally, the report shows the large total of 5,756 students who were taking some work in one of the member-institutions last November; and 9,270 students, an unduplicated number of different students, who took some work in one of the accredited institutions during the year 1940-41, a decrease of 11 per cent from the preceding year.

TABLE 3  
STUDENTS GRANTED HIGHER DEGREES IN  
SOCIAL WORK, 1932-41

YEAR	GRAND TOTAL	HIGHER DEGREES			DIPLOMAS OR CERTIFICATES		
		Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
1940-41....	1,239	910*	230	680	329	81	248
1939-40....	1,128	651	145†	475†	477‡	95	382
1938-39....	1,159	612	156	456	547	100	447
1937-38....	998	598	149	449	400	71	329
1936-37....	828	445	114	331	383	65	318
1935-36....	763	354	70	284	409	56	353
1934-35....	528	239	33	206	289	38†	215†
1933-34....	420	150	22	128	270	31	239
1932-33....	475	189	30	159	286	34	252

\* Six of these were Ph.D. degrees (two from the University of Chicago School, three from Catholic University, and one from North Carolina).

† Incomplete because of "not reported" items.

‡ Three certificate students also received the M.A.

The report shows that the thirty-eight schools have worked to the limit of their respective capacities.

#### *Annual Meeting, 1942*

The annual meeting of the Association of Schools of Social Work was held in Pittsburgh in January. There were some worth-while discussions of first- and second-year curriculums, a good many useful "round tables," and discussions of the present and probable future effects of the emergency and the war on the school programs and school registration.

At the annual dinner Miss Lenroot, of the United States Children's Bureau, reviewed the plans of co-operation with the Latin-American schools of social work. These plans, sponsored by the Children's Bureau, brought seventeen representatives from these schools to visit our North American

schools during and after the National Conference of Social Work and have also meant the award of a fellowship to a representative of each of the Latin-American schools for the current year. These Latin-American Fellows are now here and are enrolled in different member-schools.

Officers for 1942-43 were elected as follows: president, Marion Hathway, University of Pittsburgh; vice-president, Kate McMahon, Simmons College; secretary, Leona Massoth; and treasurer, Wilbur Newstetter, University of Pittsburgh. Miss Hathway, the new president, recently resigned the secretaryship of the Association, which she had held for three and a half years. Miss Massoth, who succeeded Miss Hathway as secretary, will continue to have the headquarters office at Pittsburgh, with Miss Hathway now serving as president. Other newly elected members of the executive committee of the Association for the year 1942-43 include Father McGuinn, of Boston College; Mrs. Sinnock, of Denver University; and Harry Cassidy, of the University of California.

#### IN MEMORIAM

##### MARTHA PLATT FALCONER: 1862-1941

MRS. FALCONER'S long and constructive work in the field of social welfare came to an end last December. She began her long period of service in the 1890's in Chicago as a volunteer at the Chicago Commons under Graham Taylor. She was interested with Miss Addams and Miss Lathrop in Chicago's pioneer juvenile court, and at the turn of the century she became one of its first probation officers. In 1906 she went to Philadelphia and began her great work as superintendent of the old House of Refuge, which was then a penal institution for girls and which under her wise leadership was moved to a country suburb and became Sleighton Farm, an excellent modern training school for delinquent girls. Many young college women began their social work at Sleighton Farm when Mrs. Falconer recruited a new kind of staff to make that institution the best of its kind in the world.

During the first World War, Mrs. Falconer had charge of a special committee on the care of delinquent girls under the Commission on Training Camp Activities. She administered a large federal fund to develop plans to care for the delinquent girls and women who were flocking to the camps and were a menace to the men in the services as well as to themselves. This important commission was concerned not only with the protection of the young men in the new armies but also in caring for the young girl prostitutes who had come or were brought to the camp areas.

Mrs. Falconer was for a long period of years one of the most active and most intelligent leaders in work for delinquent girls, and she was a well-known figure at national and international conferences. A friend said of her that "she was fired with vision and supported by a militant and valiant spirit."

VIRGINIA M. MURRAY: 1872-1941

VIRGINIA M. MURRAY, general director of the Travelers Aid Society of New York, had been with this organization since 1919. An early graduate of the New York School of Social Work, her first experience in social work was in the juvenile court of Columbus, Ohio, and she was later director of the old Magdalen Home in New York City, which later became Inwood House. But she was so well known for her work in the New York Travelers Aid that she seemed always to have been a part of this service.

In this organization Miss Murray handled an average of sixty thousand cases a year. Many of them involved, as she often expressed it, "every sort of maladjustment and deep-seated trouble and tragedy." Her work in the large transportation terminals covered a range of service to lost children, runaway youth, old people adrift, stranded travelers of every age and condition of life—as well as the ordinary giving of information and relaying of messages.

Early this year, when the national emergency led to a great increase in the work of the Travelers Aid in New York City, Miss Murray worked with her sixty-odd full-time paid workers and many volunteers with her great ability and enthusiasm. Three new service centers, recently added, brought the number in Greater New York to eleven. When war was declared on December 8, she immediately arranged for and personally took charge of special Travelers Aid facilities for soldiers and sailors suddenly recalled from furloughs to their stations. This was her last public service.

SOLOMON LOWENSTEIN: 1877-1942

DURING Dr. Lowenstein's long service in social welfare, he was recognized as one of our national leaders, although he was almost continuously identified with work in New York City except for a brief period when he was superintendent of the United Jewish Charities in Cincinnati. He was a tireless, faithful, and distinguished representative of various Jewish charities in New York, but his most conspicuous service was as the leader of the Federation for the Support of Jewish Philan-

thropic Societies of New York, of which he was executive director from 1920 to 1935 and executive vice-president from 1935 until his death.

During the autumn and early winter of 1930, Dr. Lowenstein was at the head of three thousand workers in the Federation campaign to raise \$5,138,000—the sum needed for its operation and for the wiping-out of the bank indebtedness incurred by providing funds for the ninety-one charitable institutions then affiliated with the organization. It was estimated at that time that in the first fourteen years of its existence the Federation and its associated institutions had spent more than \$100,000,000 for charitable purposes.

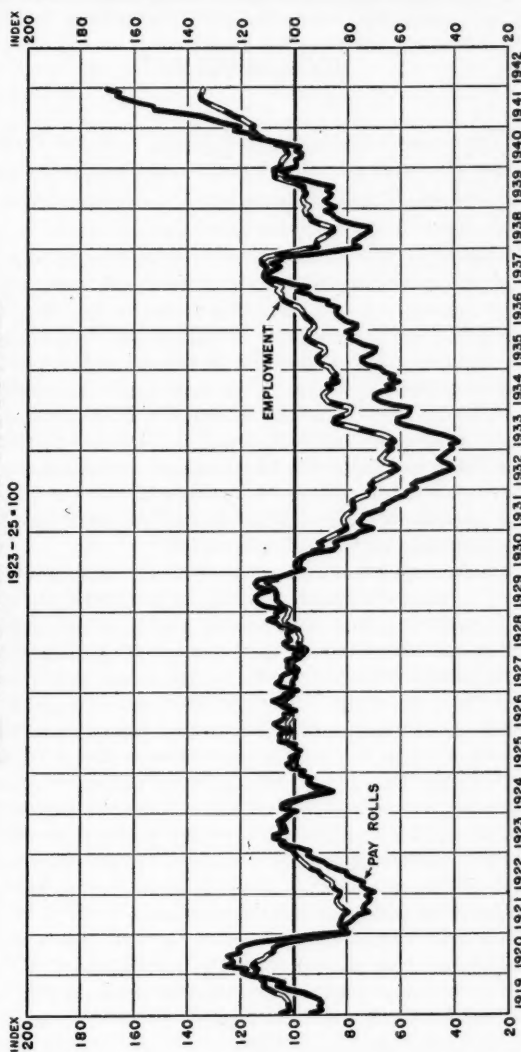
But his activities were not restricted to sectarian charities and the Jewish cause. He gave service in full measure to nonsectarian organizations of various kinds.

In 1922 he was president of the National Conference of Jewish Social Work, in 1923, of the New York State Conference of Social Work, and in 1932-33, of the New York City Conference of Social Work; he was president of the National Conference of Social Work in 1937-38. In 1934 he was a member of the Temporary Emergency Relief Administration of New York State and two years later was appointed a member of the New York State Board of Social Welfare.

During the last ten years Dr. Lowenstein's great work was helping the victims of religious persecution. In 1934, as chairman of the German Jewish Children's Aid, Inc., he announced that arrangements had been made to bring two hundred and fifty German Jewish children here. Later he was a leading member of the group supporting a movement to give sanctuary in America to a proposed additional quota of twenty thousand European children of every race and creed.

The *New York Times* expressed the general opinion of those interested in social service in many areas, when an editorial about Dr. Lowenstein's work said that it was hard "to think of any citizen of New York who leaves behind him a higher monument of good works measured in human welfare."

# EMPLOYMENT AND PAY ROLLS ALL MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR  
BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS

ADJUSTED TO 1938 CENSUS OF MANUFACTURES

## BOOK REVIEWS

*British Unemployment Programs, 1920-1938: A Report Prepared for the Committee on Social Security of the Social Science Research Council.*

By EVELINE M. BURNS. Washington, D.C.: Social Science Research Council, 1941. Pp. xx+385. \$2.75.

In this volume Dr. Burns describes and analyzes the successive British programs for dealing with unemployment during the period between the two world wars. She is unusually successful in guiding the reader through a maze of statutory changes and the administrative procedures used in carrying them out. Her achievement in picturing the actual administrative process is outstanding. She divides the period into three parts: (1) 1920-31, which she calls "Expanded Insurance"; (2) 1931-35, "Restricted Insurance and Transitional Payments"; (3) 1935-38, "Restricted Insurance and Unemployment Assistance." Mrs. Burns is skilful in combining with her exposition of these programs a running evaluation. It is not light reading, but anyone who wants to understand what the British government did in coping with unemployment during these years cannot do better than study Mrs. Burns's book.

Most American readers of such a book will take it up in search of lessons for our own country. Compared with the United States, Great Britain has been in this game a long time. What can we learn from these eighteen years of British experience? Three interrelated issues face those concerned with a permanent unemployment program for the United States. In catchword fashion they may be summarized as follows: (1) federal versus state control; (2) categorical treatment versus an over-all program; (3) experience rating versus flat-rate financing. The first two of these issues I believe were in Dr. Burns's mind when she was describing and appraising British programs. As to the third, perhaps her own answer is so positive that she does not see it as an issue or expect British experience to shed any light. But certain of her criticisms of the present British system suggest (at least to a reviewer who believes in experience rating) the slight uneasiness felt by a convinced exponent of flat-rate financing when beholding the final product of that approach.

As for the federal-versus-state controversy, at first blush British experience is a strong argument for the federalizers. In the first period, the unemployed were cared for by an expanded national insurance system, largely supplemented by local relief. In the second, local agencies determined who should receive nationally financed "transitional payments," which supplemented national insurance benefits. In the third period, a national assistance system was set up to take care of those whose insurance rights were exhausted; local government

was left with only a minute residual load. Thus it appears that local action failed and was superseded by national action. Is there a moral for the United States? Even assuming that its present system is best for Britain, differences between the two countries are so great that the analogy is dangerous. Obviously a national system in Great Britain deals with a geographical area and a volume of unemployment very much smaller than would face a national system in the United States. Less obvious perhaps is the fact that the local units of government, which Mrs. Burns finds were too small from both an economic and an administrative standpoint to handle unemployment successfully, were cities and towns or possibly counties. Britain, of course, has no governmental units comparable to American states. In other words, both the national and the local units of government are so much smaller in Britain that no parallel should be drawn.

As for the second issue—should the unemployed be treated all alike or divided into categories?—Dr. Burns tells us that the attempt to handle the bulk of the unemployed under the insurance system failed. After 1931, insurance benefits paid as a matter of right were strictly limited. Since then, when insurance rights are exhausted, unemployment assistance is given on the basis of need and involves certain obligations to accept retraining, transfer to other areas, etc. Dr. Burns raises many interesting questions as to the desirability of maintaining this dual setup, or of continuing to draw the line between the two categories at twenty-six weeks. (The insurance duration has recently been extended to thirty weeks.) Dr. Burns does not suggest that another attempt should be made to have the insurance system carry the whole load. Rather, she appears to question the desirability of imposing no obligations on the unemployed for as long as twenty-six weeks. Her belief that payments on a rights basis should not last too long should perhaps give pause to those critics of existing American unemployment compensation laws who impatiently demand that the laws be made to provide greatly extended duration of benefits. No doubt, present state laws do not carry the full unemployment load and will fall even shorter in the post-war period. But British experience, if it be used as a guide, suggests the erection of a second line of defense rather than a federal attempt to stretch state unemployment compensation laws too drastically. Dr. Burns and this reviewer would probably agree in preferring public works to mere assistance as the basis of this second line.

Dr. Burns expresses doubts as to the long-run justification of pay-roll taxes for financing unemployment insurance. This is natural in view of her general slant. For she never mentions employers as a group concerned with unemployment. The Foreword refers to other groups interviewed in the course of her investigation, but not to British employers. In the Introduction she looks at unemployment insurance from the point of view of the worker and of the government—again no mention of the employer. If it is no concern of his, she is quite right in asking why he should pay part of the bill. Perhaps Dr. Burns is tacitly



admitting (what advocates of experience rating contend) that a flat pay-roll tax is inequitable. Pay roll is a poor base for a general tax, but a proper base for an insurance premium with rates determined by unemployment risk.

More broadly, Dr. Burns's appraisal of British unemployment programs is interesting in the indirect light it throws on the fundamental issue in the experience-rating controversy. She concludes that the British worked out a successful method of "maintaining the unemployed," but she notes the absence of a more constructive long-run program. She shows that they never did much with public works and finds their governmental measures to revive industry extremely limited. On the whole she characterizes the British attitude toward unemployment as "passive." This leads of course to the question: What would Mrs. Burns regard as an active, constructive approach? One gathers that she regards unemployment entirely as the result of long-continued depression; she is thinking only of what we have been calling "hard-core" unemployment. Apparently she would have favored a substantial public works program both to prevent demoralization of the long-time unemployed and to "implement a controlled expansionist policy." She indicates also that the British should have gone much further in retraining and transferring workers and perhaps in government aid to new industries. There is no evidence of interest on her part in a constructive attack on short-time unemployment through experience rating. She disregards the possibility that improvement there might play a part in increasing purchasing power or in reducing costs and prices and thus might help the reabsorption of the long-time unemployed into private industry.

British conditions may be so unlike those in the United States as to warrant their ignoring short-time unemployment. If so, British experience is an unsafe guide for the United States, where, in many plants and industries, relatively high wage-rates, low annual earnings, and very intermittent utilization of plant capacity offer challenging possibilities of constructive improvement. In any event, the British situation in the last year before World War II, as described by a sympathetic observer, scarcely offers us an inviting prospect should we follow in their footsteps. We still expect to do something better in the United States than maintain in an orderly fashion a large permanent army of idle unemployed.

One final item in Dr. Burns's study certainly deserves mention. It is relevant to any type of government program for dealing with unemployment—or for dealing with almost anything else for that matter. In speaking of the administration of the British programs, Dr. Burns pays a fine tribute to the work of hundreds of private citizens in co-operating on a voluntary basis with paid officials. She notes their manifold participation on courts of referees, local advisory committees, etc., and declares that their enlistment "at every stage of the policy forming and administrative activities is of the utmost value." Here, certainly, is a lesson for us. For we have long regarded the British Civil Service as a shining example. It is significant, then, that in spite of, or perhaps because

of, the high level of integrity and intelligence among their government officials, the British recognize that it is very important to secure active participation in the administrative process by private citizens representing the public and the interested groups.

ELIZABETH BRANDEIS

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

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*Women at Work: A Brief Introduction to Trade Unionism for Women.* By MARY AGNES HAMILTON. London: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1941. Pp. x+188. 5s.

*The Women of England.* By MARGARET BIDDLE. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1941. Pp. xiv+99. \$1.75.

These are two very interesting and timely books. Mary Agnes Hamilton has used all her vigorous skill as a writer to resurrect and bring to life again the early struggles to improve the conditions of life and work for the vast army of women who earn their living. Mrs. Hamilton points out in the first page of her book that the working woman "is, admittedly, very important in time of war. Then, a lot is heard of her. Then, she is necessary, and seen to be necessary, to the nation's effort. Actually, of course, she is as necessary in peace-time: so is the work she does."

Mrs. Hamilton goes back to those heroic days when our pioneers laid the foundation for the present day. She has told us again in a most interesting way the story of the romantic and dramatic period in the history of trade-unionism for women. Here is the story of the "female lodges" in the period of the old Grand National Trade Union of Robert Owen's day and the great days of the 1870's when Emma Paterson founded the Women's Trade Union League. Here is the flaming story of the match girls of the 1880's and that little paper called *The Link*, which took up the cause of the match girls and helped them win through to victory with Annie Besant's help. The match girls' strike was typical of that period of ferment in the eighties when people were reading *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London* and *Darkest England and the Way Out* and when they were thinking about the sober facts brought to light by Charles Booth, who was publishing the first articles of what became that classic study of *Life and Labour of the People in London*.

The match girls' heroic struggle was followed by that of the gas workers and the dockers, and we had the forerunners of what we now know as industrial unions. Here are the stories of the great pioneers—not only Mrs. Paterson, but Lady Dilke, Gertrude Tuckwell, Mary Macarthur, and the other names in that great roster.

Mrs. Hamilton also retells in her best manner the great story of the fight for the trade boards—the fight to end what Mrs. Webb called "the morass of

sweating." It is good that she also resummaries the argument of Mrs. Webb's great little book, *Equal Wages for Equal Work*.

Finally, there is a very interesting account of women's work in the last war, with an excellent table showing the wartime increase in the number of women workers in the different industries and trades.

The vastly increased wartime employment of women in industry, above all in the engineering and clothing industries, led to a very rapid increase in the number of women in Trade Unions. Most of the new women went into the National Federation of Women Workers or the general labour Unions. The Engineers still closed their doors. But in this way they were practically alone. The broad effect of war conditions was to cause Unions to open their doors and keep them open. . . . Separate organization had been a necessary, preliminary stage only. So long as many Unions would not admit women, women had to form Unions of their own. So soon as the men's Unions did admit women, even welcomed them, the work of the separate women's Unions was done. . . . There are still one or two smaller Unions, but the general tendency is definitely against sex demarcation. This is to-day the general outlook of men, as of women.

This is really an extraordinarily interesting book. It shows what women have done to develop policies and to change life to make peace more bearable for the working women of England.

Mrs. Hamilton has done a very good piece of work. She has great skill in putting two sides of the case quite objectively as in the case of married women in industry. She has unusual detachment in her method of presentation.

Today [she summarizes] the vast majority of Unions admit women to membership, and, once they are in, treat them on an equality. There still persists a custom under which the woman's contribution (assessed on the basis of her lower wages) is lower than the man's; in some, too, this lower contribution carries a discrimination; it cannot be said that, as yet, the woman's share of executive and administrative responsibility is anything like level with her membership. Few are the Unions which expect their women members to share in the leadership of the Union, although all expect—and get—a very high standard of fellowship from them.

Mrs. Biddle's little book is different, but she has written a very pleasant, chatty account of women's war work. Her book gives a popular over-all picture of women's new activities and their complete success in the new fields of work they have entered. For example, managing a balloon barrage, which is described as "still in the experimental stage," has, since this was written, been declared a complete success, and a crew of twenty women is now trusted to handle a balloon barrage successfully. One of the gratifying features that is brought out by the book is the equalitarian relationship between men and women that has grown up in the new England in which we are living and working.

There is a chapter given to the Women's Voluntary Service, but it is unfortunate that so little seems to be understood of the other women's voluntary organizations that were already engaged in active work before the W.V.A. was organized. Lady Reading has done a splendid piece of work, and the praise

given to the W.V.S. is entirely deserved, but there are some thirty-five other organizations known as the Women's Group on Public Welfare that have also given splendid service. Special mention might well have been made, for example, of the Federation of Women's Institutes, which is the organization of the country women, and the work of the Women's Cooperative Guild, the Townswomen's Guild, and the National Council of Women. A very great many of the women in W.V.S. have been members of these other older vigorous organizations and have continued to make their most active contribution through them.

There is a good account of the Women's Land Army, although the word "farmerettes" I have never heard used in England, and it may be a small concession perhaps to the American reader; and there is an excellent chapter on fire-fighting and a good account of the mobile laundry, which has brought untold comfort to the bombed-out people. Finally, there is a fine account of an experience in a "blitz." It is typically English that the English refer to a terrible bombing as "an incident." "Has there been an incident tonight?" the people on the job say, and this pitifully inadequate word often covers stark tragedy.

You can cordially recommend this carefully compiled little book to those who want to know the various forms of work which our women are carrying on so vigorously and successfully.

MARGARET BONDFIELD

LONDON, ENGLAND

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*Swedish Unemployment Policy—1914 to 1940.* By HARRISON CLARK. Introduction by SUMNER H. SLICHTER. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1941. Pp. 179. Cloth, \$3.25; paper, \$2.75.

The Swedish social security program has already been described in some very useful books by social scientists, social workers, and students of labor problems. Dr. Clark's study adds an illuminating analysis of the history of labor relations and unemployment policy. He investigates the attitude of legislature, government, employers, and labor unions toward unemployment from the beginning of this century through the 1914-18 period of the war boom, the post-war crisis, economic prosperity, world-depression, and the period of recovery preceding the outbreak of the present war.

The great differences between Swedish and American problems are obvious, but so are many basic questions common to both countries. Local unemployment commissions under supervision of a national agency provided for "unemployment relief benefits," a special public assistance program in the form of cash allowances, relief in kind, or work relief. The costs are shared by the national government and the local unit. The first labor exchanges were founded by several municipalities in 1905, but until 1914 these agencies did not carry the administration of unemployment relief. The co-ordination of the functions of

placement and benefit payment helped to secure a fair distribution of labor in the poorly populated northern districts of Sweden. To the students of our W.P.A. policy, Dr. Clark's report is very stimulating. It indicates that a public works program will bring about satisfactory results only if it is vested with adequate funds and includes projects of real economic and cultural value. Though work projects in an employment security program will, by their very nature, tend to employ as many people as possible and to limit costs for materials, useful and needed projects should be carried out.

The most timely chapter deals with Swedish methods during the new world war, after the setup of the State Labor Market Commission (including a division of statistics and research) to administer unemployment relief, placement services, and general unemployment policy. Unemployment insurance was established rather late as a voluntary system, since the labor unions were carrying insurance for their members as a special privilege and did not want a government system of unemployment compensation. Thus, the public insurance program for unemployment in 1934 was still a voluntary program based upon exclusive contributions of the workers, without any share carried by the employers. The program seems not too popular in Sweden, and changes are being considered. The State Labor Market Commission in May, 1940, transformed the labor exchanges from local to national agencies, and all placements were to be effected through these public employment services. Employers are no longer permitted to hire workers except through these labor exchanges.

Other aspects of the Swedish war policy are the creation of priorities in using available labor; the shifting of workers, with or without their families, into other districts or into new trades; and an elaborate training program carried out in vocational schools, retraining courses and camps, and on the job, under supervision of the commissions. During this training period the workers receive unemployment relief benefits and supplementary training payments. Other emergency methods are the transportation of workers and their families to places where they are needed, the costs being entirely met by the government, and the payment of wage differences by the government whenever the necessary change obliges the workers to accept lower wages in other industries or districts. On the other hand, the scarcity of labor has led the government to suspend some of the protective labor regulations, such as maximum working hours and the prohibition of night work for women. Finally, the recruiting of additional workers, especially in agriculture for harvesting and planting, has induced the labor exchanges to recruit women and school children.

By the "Civilian Service Act" of 1939, the State Labor Market Commission has the power to enforce labor mobility and priorities by compulsory methods if necessary. However, compulsory measures have not yet been used and will be resorted to only if there is no other way out, as Sweden still believes in the voluntary principle for a democracy.

WALTER A. FRIEDLANDER

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

*Federal Departmentalization: A Critique of Theories of Organization.* By SCHUYLER C. WALLACE. New York: Columbia University Press, 1941. Pp. 251. \$2.75.

This book is an interesting review of recent thinking and doing in the field of departmental organization at the federal level. It is true that the discussion and analysis lean very heavily indeed upon the work of Gulick, the President's Committee on Administrative Management, Blachly and Oatman, and Meriam and Schmeckebier. Nonetheless, the volume offers a good treatment of such questions as the basic methods by which administrative responsibility can be decentralized (geographically, by functional devolution, and by departmentalization) and the relative advantages of a large number of small departments or a small number of large departments. As one argument in favor of small units, Wallace cites the Children's Bureau, the effectiveness of which he believes to be closely tied up with the intimacy existing between this agency and the various welfare organizations. He is inclined to think that a way to gain the advantages of a large department while avoiding its disadvantages may be found in the application of the holding-company idea to the departmental structure, making departments quasi-federal organizations composed of semiautonomous units.

In a chapter on interdepartmental integration Wallace discusses alternative possibilities for location of the over-all service and planning agencies (personnel, budget, purchasing, etc.), specifically considering the advisability of placing them all in the Treasury Department, all in a new department, or making them independent. Strangely enough, he fails to consider the operation and administrative consequences of the plan which has actually been adopted, namely, the creation of the Executive Office of the President. One could wish for less speculation and more analysis—for example, how the three new "agencies" have fitted into the departmental picture.

The author reads a lecture to students of administration, stressing the danger of considering findings in the field of administration as "scientific." However this may be, accuracy of facts is not too much to demand, and this study is marred by some careless slips. The Office of Coordinator of Transportation was set up in 1933, not 1934. The date of the 1933 reorganization statute is given as 1932, and of the 1939 Reorganization Act as 1937. The 1933 statute expired in 1935, so it is scarcely strange that President Roosevelt did not use it in 1936 and 1937, as the author comments. The T.V.A. is referred to as the Tennessee Valley Administration, and a somewhat exaggerated idea of its powers is given. These are minor matters, but they inevitably react on the reader's confidence in the work.

C. HERMAN PRITCHETT

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO



*Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work: Selected Papers, Sixty-eighth Annual Conference, Atlantic City, New Jersey, June 1-7, 1941.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1941. Pp. 787. \$5.00.

The Conference Editorial Committee selected for publication sixty-four papers from the more than one hundred and fifty that were presented before the National Conference of Social Work. Value for reference purposes was taken as the main criteria for selection. To quote:

Newness of data, practical value to active social workers, authenticity, historical significance, especial timeliness, literary excellence—all these criteria are applied; but in the last analysis they may be resolved into a single generic test—usefulness to persons who may wish to consult the *Proceedings*, not only on its appearance, but in subsequent years.

For the third year the Editorial Committee has arranged the papers under centers of reader interest rather than according to the program headings. These consist of "Social Work in a War-torn World," "Areas of Social Work Concern," and "Social Work in Practice."

The dominant theme of the Conference was the place of social work in a world at war, and this is apparent in the *Proceedings*. Jane Hoey's presidential address on "The Contribution of Social Work to Government" discussed democratic government in contrast to totalitarianism and then the unique and significant contributions social work has made during the last ten years to the democratic process in government. After discussing these contributions in more detail, she says: "If social workers are courageous enough, and if they are permitted to function effectively in those areas where their special knowledge and skills can be used, then we can look forward in the future to a new role for social work—the watchdog of democracy."

An international tone is conspicuous in the *Proceedings* as it was in the Conference itself. Papers from a number of the distinguished foreign guests who attended are included. From overseas by transatlantic radio came an address by Ernest Biven, British minister of labor and national services. His paper on "The Importance of the Social Services to Labor" is included in the *Proceedings*. Also included are speeches by Charlotte Whitton, executive secretary of the Canadian Welfare Council; Mary Craig McGeachy, of the Ministry of Economic Warfare, British Embassy in Washington; and Edward J. Phelan, of Eire, director of the International Labour Office at Montreal.

Latin-American directors of schools of social work were invited to the Conference, and as a result of their participation in the program two excellent papers are included in the *Proceedings*: "Trends of Social Work in Chile," by Luz Tocornal de Romero, and "Trends in the Development of Social Security and Social Welfare in Brazil," by Stella de Faro. The picture of social security in the Western Hemisphere is rounded out with a paper by Arthur Altmeyer.

World-conditions are reflected in papers on migration, civil liberties, and



refugee children, as some of the titles would indicate. Even in papers on the theory and practice of case work, the emphasis on today, on change, or on conservation of human values in the titles of papers would indicate that the papers reflect current developments.

"Community Organization in Time of Crisis" is the subject of several papers as is the topic "Problems of Community Organization." The fields covered are too numerous to discuss, but there is a wealth of material on children, the aged, social insurances, social action, etc. Even in the limited space of a review attention should be called to the unusual papers on relief by Edith Abbott, Hugh Jackson, Philip Flanner, and Geoffrey May as constituting some high spots in the volume.

To many people the appendixes will prove useful, as they include the program and much information on the business organization.

MARIETTA STEVENSON

AMERICAN PUBLIC WELFARE ASSOCIATION  
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*Forty Years of Carnegie Giving.* By ROBERT M. LESTER. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1941. Pp. xi+186. \$2.00.

Andrew Carnegie started out in 1901 to give away \$300,000,000. He gave away \$311,000,000. The trusts he created have distributed \$368,000,000. In 1941 their assets were \$319,000,000. *Forty Years of Carnegie Giving* is a reference book of factual information about Mr. Carnegie's gifts and the work of his trusts. It is divided into two parts. Part I describes the Carnegie trusts and other enterprises generally connected with the Carnegie name; the circumstances leading to each gift are summarized, the nature of the organization created is set forth, the expenditures or grants for major interests are listed, and the names of all trustees and officers are appended. Part II contains copies of the letters of gift, deeds of trust, and similar legal instruments through which Mr. Carnegie set up his major organizations. Reference books are not designed for easy or consecutive reading.

The panorama thus spread before the determined reader, however, is breathtaking. The public gifts and bequests of Mr. Carnegie himself are itemized under twenty-six headings. The range of these headings is too familiar to need more than underscoring—from church organs, free public library buildings, hero funds, and simplified spelling boards to teachers' pensions, institutes of technology, great universities, and international peace—all topped by the imperial grant of \$135,336,867.89 to the Carnegie Corporation of New York, "the largest single permanent philanthropic trust ever recorded . . . established in 1911 for the advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding among the people of the United States and the British Dominions and Colonies." Mr. Lester's too few pages on the Corporation and each of the other grant-making

agencies show how the range was extended both during and after Mr. Carnegie's lifetime and how the men of Mr. Carnegie's choosing and their successors have tried to plow the fields in which his interest lay.

One occasionally finds people who are cynical about some of this. But the present reviewer, as he struggled through the forbidding phraseology of the legal and other basic documents of Part II, felt humble rather than cynical in the face of so unquenchable a desire to better the human lot. John Morley, surely a competent witness, who knew Mr. Carnegie well, speaks of "his spacious feel for the great objects in the world—for knowledge and its spread, invention, light, improvement of social relations, equal chances to the talents, the passion for peace." If Mr. Carnegie piled up a fortune more than sufficient for a king's ransom, he used it for truly royal purposes.

ROBERT P. LANE

WELFARE COUNCIL OF NEW YORK CITY

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*Make Your Agency More Effective.* By ARTHUR L. SWIFT, JR. New York: Association Press, 1941. Pp. 322. \$3.00.

This book is described as a manual for self-study by organizations engaged in recreation, informal religious and secular education, and group work. The author suggests that it is really a handbook for institutional self-study. It is intended both for the social worker occupying a staff position in the administration of the agency and for the lay members of agency boards and committees.

This volume is a splendid summary of the methods Mr. Swift has used in his studies of social agencies. Written from years of experience in developing and conducting such studies, it supplies the pragmatic orientation many persons demand. Everything discussed in the book has been tried in the actual survey setting. Furthermore, many of the techniques, methods, and instruments of study have been revised to meet the needs of all the social agencies in the group-work area.

Mr. Swift explains that this was not an attempt to prepare another social research and survey textbook but rather to offer a simple, direct, step-by-step guide to the problem of agency self-study. Because of this step-by-step approach, the manual takes the reader through the self-study experience. Chapters are devoted to the preliminary or path-finding study, organization of the survey, study of history, agency membership, program, personnel, business operations, administration, community relationships, finances, and preparation of the final report. Though agencies might not pursue exactly the same course in self-study, they need to cover all these areas at some time. Mr. Swift furnishes the reader with complete details on how to proceed.

Those who have specialized in the statistical reporting of group-work activities will be surprised to find no reference to the United States Children's Bureau group-work reporting system and program. The efforts for uniform reporting

would have been improved if the Children's Bureau classification had been specifically mentioned.

In the personnel chapter we have excellent material. Job analyses are a prerequisite to evaluation, and they are covered well. It is disappointing that Mr. Swift did not give specific and detailed suggestions for the study and evaluation of the group-work supervisor. He has written many helpful articles on group-work supervision and places great stress on its importance. Since the paid group worker is essentially a supervisor, any study of his role and effectiveness makes necessary the most exacting analyses of his supervisory responsibilities.

There is a valuable appendix with sample schedules and instruments that Mr. Swift has developed. It should be stated that in the majority of instances the illustrations both within the text and in the Appendix are taken from the various Y.M.C.A. studies Mr. Swift has conducted. With the exception of a number of illustrations cited from the Rochester, New York, Character Building Agencies Survey, which show composite and comparative figures, the illustrations are in terms of a single agency.

Mr. Swift, better than most group workers, knows that the major problems of self-study are not primarily methodological or even organizational. They are the problems incident to the use of a group-work process in any setting. Motivation, timing, objectivity, continuity, and the translation into practice of the recommendations arrived at by the group are certain to arise in any self-study situation. Reduced to very simple terms, the self-study in the agency setting really means the use of a group-work process on an adult professional level. This book furnishes tools to help do the job.

HARLEIGH B. TRECKER

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

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*Elementary Social Statistics.* By THOMAS CARSON MCCORMICK. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1941. Pp. x+353. \$3.00.

The chief purpose of this book is "to provide students who expect to become professional sociologists with the ground work for more advanced training in quantitative research methods." The author, a well-known and successful teacher in the University of Wisconsin, deplores the inadequate mathematical training of most students entering the social science field and has attempted to adjust his material to this limitation. Except in a few simple cases he has omitted the derivations of formulas. He has been at great pains, however, to point out the assumptions that should be scrutinized in using the various formulas he presents.

A genuine question concerning educational method is involved in this approach. The development of the quantitative method has been characterized in recent decades by increased application of mathematics. In its upper reaches,

statistical methodology is now a foreign tongue to those not comfortably familiar with higher mathematics. This development represents an appropriate contribution; for scholars in all fields are concerned to test the validity of new methods of analysis and to sharpen the tools available for research.

Unquestionably, however, this continuing trend has complicated the problem of teaching. A foreign language cannot be mastered by using phrases culled from a lexicon. There must be, in addition, some understanding of the dynamics of grammar. Similarly, some insecurity is inevitably involved in using mathematical methods without fully comprehending their derivations and implications. Professor McCormick is clearly aware of this hazard and urges students "to build up an adequate mathematical background."

Actually, however, there are wide variations among the various disciplines in the uses that statistical methods should serve. Those seeking to become professional research workers need a thorough knowledge of the field, including its more recondite areas, if only to safeguard themselves against an inferiority complex. But for every worker operating in the total field there are scores who can make use only of the simpler methods of presentation, summarization, and analysis. These are the administrators in various fields of public service who must provide the community with some quantitative and visual data with respect to their operations. Many of these officials cannot or will not make the investment of time required to master methods that can be applied rarely, if ever, to the kinds of data available, or likely to be available, in their fields. On the other hand, these future administrators are greatly handicapped if they are not reasonably familiar with that part of the field of statistical methodology which helps them in interpreting the broad outlines of their problems and their services.

Professor McCormick's book suggests that he has these variant needs clearly in mind. In the opinion of this reviewer he has included too much rather than too little, in view of his desire to adjust his material to the needs of students who have had no mathematical training beyond high-school algebra. Nevertheless, his book will prove very useful to teachers and to beginning students. He has included exercises at the conclusion of the chapters, and his appendixes provide tables to assist in the solution of the problems. His four introductory chapters constitute an unusually clear exposition of the limitations and potentialities of the statistical method.

WAYNE McMILLEN

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*Housing Yearbook, 1941.* By the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF HOUSING OFFICIALS. Chicago, 1941. Pp. vi+405. \$3.00.

The *Housing Yearbook* in 1941 is larger and more complete than ever before. The emergency in housing created by the defense program accounts for much

of the new material in the *Yearbook*, but the growth of state and local housing authorities has added to the material with which the National Association of Housing Officials is concerned. More than half of the *Yearbook* is required for the description of the activities of specific housing authorities. The material for each description was supplied by the housing authority itself, and the detail included in these brief statements gives a powerful impression of the way in which the public housing movement has spread through the country since the establishment of the United States Housing Authority in 1937. The latest manifestation of the interest in public housing is represented in the 207 county housing authorities in 16 states, most of which have been created within the last two years.

All the federal agencies concerned with housing are participating in the special plan of housing defense workers and the armed forces. The new Federal Division of Defense Housing has acted as a co-ordinating agency and has had the responsibility of determining the locations and size of defense housing projects. In general, the rents in the defense housing projects are higher than they are in U.S.H.A. projects, but rents are graded according to ability to pay. Construction in defense areas has been supervised by the U.S.H.A. or its agent, a local housing authority, the Farm Security Administration, and the Public Buildings Administration of the Federal Works Agency. Credit resources have been made available to private enterprise by the Federal Housing Administration and by the Federal Home Loan Bank Board through banks and loan associations.

The necessity of graded rents for defense workers and for members of the armed forces in the emergency housing projects underlines again the fact that only a small proportion of the population can afford to pay an economic rent for good housing. Workers in defense industries are for the most part earning wages which put them in the upper half of the income classes of the country, and yet it is necessary to subsidize their wages by rents which are less than enough to pay costs of construction, amortization, and maintenance. The emergency has forced a recognition of this fact, but it is none the less impressive for having come because of the war. It is not to be expected that costs of housing will be reduced through lower wage rates or costs of materials. There seem to be two ways of providing decent houses for the masses of the population: public construction highly subsidized for the lowest-income groups and private construction with funds provided at much lower interest rates than have yet been possible. In six years the public authorities have provided (not counting their defense housing work) only about 125,000 dwelling units, whereas some 600,000 are needed each year. Some kind of private, nonprofit organization which is able to borrow money from the government at interest rates as low as 2 per cent seems to be necessary to provide homes for the income classes which receive \$1,000 to \$3,000 per family per year. In the post-war period such a na-

tional organization, adequately financed, could absorb much of the demobilized labor.

The National Association of Housing Officials is to be congratulated on the high quality and usefulness of this latest number of the *Housing Yearbook*.

R. CLYDE WHITE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*Nation and Family.* BY ALVA MYRDAL. New York: Harper, 1941.  
Pp. 426. \$4.00.

This interesting book describes and evaluates the Swedish population program. Although many of the family problems discussed are basic to American as well as to Swedish culture, the United States has not taken the lead, as has Sweden, in developing a well-rounded family program adapted to democratic population planning. In Sweden population trends have been such as to arouse lively public concern. Furthermore, social and political conditions have given Sweden "an advantageous set of prerequisites for a bold experiment in social democracy."

Population has been studied more often as a subject for fact-finding research than as a matter for political action. Mrs. Myrdal believes that today's social problems are so great that the social sciences must advance from a mere recording of facts and analysis of causal relations to the construction of rational plans for purposive changes. Sweden has achieved a close collaboration between the fact-finding of academic experts and politics. Her experience therefore helps to clarify the methodology of framing a population policy which conforms with scientific standards.

A population program must be based not alone on premises of facts but also on premises of values. These value premises are important both for the goals of the program and for the means of achieving it. The controlling values in Swedish population policy include individual freedom in relation to parenthood, high levels of living, economic equality, and a positive valuation of children, family, and marriage. Of these, the welfare of children has been the most significant influence in shaping Swedish population policy. Specific goals comprise increased aggregate fertility, a more even distribution of children in families, higher living standards, improved quality of population stock, reduced illegitimacy, and more generally available birth-control information.

Mrs. Myrdal recognizes the immense proportions of the economic reforms necessary to compensate the family for the extra burdens it shoulders in having children. A controversial question is whether society should organize services for children or reimburse parents through a system of child pensions or wage allowances. In an excellent chapter entitled "In Cash or in Kind" Mrs. Myrdal



shows why the alternative of cash is more expensive and less efficient than is the provision of public social services for children. Her analysis of the family allowance system is especially fine. She objects to the linking of general social reforms, such as old age insurance and health insurance, to the labor market, since old age and illness are not limited to industrial workers. In the same way the family wage system is inadequate as a solution of the problems of child maintenance because it leaves out the children of farmers, shopkeepers, small-scale entrepreneurs, and the unemployed. Public social services for the benefit of children were established long ago in certain fields. A cash pension could not buy as adequate schooling for children as they receive under a system of free public education. Neither could it provide as adequate dental care, prenatal service, recreation, or housing.

By 1935 there was general agreement in Sweden that conscious planning of the quality and quantity of population must supersede automatic adjustments. Therefore, a population commission was established to investigate the population problem and to construct a program. This commission proposed reforms to the government. As is customary in Sweden when dealing with commission reports, printed copies of the recommendations were sent to administrators, local government officials, and civic agencies for discussion. The recommendations received publicity in the press and were studied and analyzed by the public. Many of the proposals were then enacted into actual reforms by the Riksdag.

Mrs. Myrdal describes specific phases of the Swedish program in a series of chapters on educational preparation for family life, planning the size of the family, the economics of homemaking, housing, food, health, education, recreation, provisions for child-bearing, the incomplete family, and social security. She ends her book with a forceful discussion of the married woman's right to work and the working woman's right to marry and have children.

Many of the goals for which social workers in this country are striving have been realized in Sweden. Social workers, therefore, will welcome this competent evaluation of the Swedish program. Sociologists, too, will value this account of the Swedish experiment in democratic family and population policy as an important addition to sociological literature. Mrs. Myrdal says that the principal difficulty in constructive social engineering is the need for value premises to supplement knowledge of facts. Her own book is a noteworthy combination of value judgments and scientific facts, of goals and means to achieve these goals, of theory and practice. Those who believe that concern for the family institution and for the quantity and quality of population must be dominant considerations in our social policy will find *Nation and Family* a gratifying book.

MARY SYDNEY BRANCH

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO



*The Child Speaks: The Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency.* By JACOB PANKEN. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1941. Pp. 355. \$2.50.

Child guidance has been discussed in many different books and by many different authorities. Rarely has one found the subject discussed from the standpoint of a judge with as much understanding of the causative factors of delinquency and behavior disorders as is shown in this volume by Judge Panken. He has divided the book in two parts: Part I, in which he discusses the problems of juvenile delinquency, and Part II, in which he has included case histories, letters from delinquents, and book reviews written by some delinquents at his request. At the end of the book is a long list of books that he considers therapeutic tools if discretion is used in selecting them for the delinquent child's reading. As a whole, the orientation is in agreement with modern psychiatric evidence in which delinquency in general is found to result not from basic constitutional criminality but from childhood deprivation, poor parental training, and criminal environmental experiences. The text is written most simply in short authoritative sentences and will thus be understandable to the least sophisticated. However, it is somewhat tedious in its repetitious simplicity, its ex cathedra attitude, and its use of trite clichés for emphasis.

In the first part of the book, in which causative factors are discussed, Judge Panken frankly identifies with the child delinquent and is severely critical of the "bad" parents; but he does not recognize sufficiently that these same "bad" parents are what they are largely because they, in turn, were injured by "bad parents," and so on down the line, ad infinitum. We find such statements as: "That children become delinquent is the fault of the adult rather than of the child"; and "In charging the child with lack of moral sense, parents confess lack of moral responsibility. Children are what parents make them." However, although he blames the parents (and rightly, in this reviewer's opinion) he offers a plea for training parents and for educating them in child training. Many factors in parental attitudes that are detrimental to adequate character building are touched upon, such as severe punishment with the instilling of fear in the child; depriving attitudes resulting in insecure feelings; criminal practices of the parents which condone delinquency; etc. As to extra-familial detrimental experiences, Judge Panken emphasizes the harm done by the crime plays and serials on the radio and in moving-pictures. To make heroes of gangsters, he believes, is to tempt the sensitive youth to experiment with antisocial behavior. He also emphasizes the inadequacy of the average school system, in which regimentation and punitive attitudes only serve to fix antisocial character traits produced by bad parental influences. He pleads for schools which may neutralize the effect of bad parents, and he emphasizes the value of understanding and love as prerequisite attitudes of the teacher of the future. Poverty and material deprivation are also stressed as influencing the production of delinquent acts; and although Judge Panken does not tell us how to eliminate these social evils

which have ever been with us, he states: "A well-organized society functioning for the common good, having as its basis the welfare of all its people, need have no poverty. It is a social crime to permit poverty to exist, to inflict its ravages upon the individual, to deny to society the capacities of the individuals which, under normal conditions, could be developed." Finally, ignorance is discussed as a factor favoring antisocial behavior and is condemned as unnecessary. "Ignorance is as inexcusable as poverty."

By far the greater part of the book is concerned with the treatment methods of the author. Both as to prevention and as to direct treatment of the delinquent, one hears the optimistic note of the evangelist, but this must not lead one to discredit entirely the possibilities of his ideas or of his actual achievements. Of the latter, one suspects that much of what he accomplishes is by virtue of the influence of his personality rather than by the actual activities involved. In the case histories one reads a sympathetic understanding of the child and the influence upon him of an eager, interested, and socially minded man. Judge Panken's major therapeutic tool is the "uplift" book, not as admonition or as preaching, but as example—as ego-ideal in the terms of the psychiatrist. Thus, biographies of eminent and upright men predominate in the bibliographies which he suggests to the child. In return he asks for book reviews. Many of these reviews, as well as personal letters to the Judge, are published in the book to offer the reader evidence of therapeutic progress. The bibliography at the end of the volume is evidence of some important influences in Judge Panken's life, for they are mostly books published in the pre- and post-World War I period. Examples are books by Mark Twain, H. G. Wells, Izrael Zangwill, Maurice Maeterlinck, Henry Thoreau, R. L. Stevenson, Walter Scott, Thomas Hardy, and so on. Only a meager few are as recent as William Beebe, Paul de Kruif, or even Jane Addams. The influence of good literature must be recognized, but that reading stories of "good" men may basically change character patterns created out of experiences both at home and abroad through all the developing years of the child's life cannot be easily accepted from the slim evidence of Judge Panken. One needs more information concerning the actual personal influence of the therapist in the therapeutic situation before one can evaluate the various factors at work to create the final end result—a socially adjusted individual.

In conclusion, even though one may question the theoretical expressions of this work, there is no doubt that reiteration of the influence of the home, the school, and society upon character development is a most valuable weapon against the sloth of *laissez faire* attitudes; and, coming from the pen of a judge—an unbiased balancer of justice—it is even more valuable as evidence for the importance of changes in the social planning to protect the developing child.

MARGARET W. GERARD, M.D.

CHICAGO

*Get More Out of Life: How Troubled People Find Help.* By CATHERINE GROVES. New York: Association Press, 1941. Pp. 136. \$1.25.

The purpose of this book is to set before the lay public some of the symptoms and causes of personal maladjustment and to explain how and under what guises help may be found. Its value to the social worker will lie in whether it can be used as valid and effective interpretation either in specific cases or in making the public more aware of the potentialities in some social-work programs. To attempt to clarify some of the confusions in the public mind with regard to help with personal problems is a laudable undertaking; and the author has undoubtedly organized a good deal of sound information, expressed in simple language, within the covers of this small book. There have been other undertakings of this sort published, but no one, I think, has tried to encompass in so few brief chapters the philosophy, methods, and objectives of so wide a variety of therapeutic efforts drawn together under the common name of "counseling."

Miss Groves has stated and illustrated some of the common aspects of maladjustment, has indicated some of the problems and processes of acquiring self-understanding, has described the essential elements of psychoanalysis, and has discussed the various kinds of social agencies where help with personal problems may be sought. She has included in her discussion the efforts of ministers, psychologists, and interested laymen of other allied fields who she thinks may be qualified, with certain reservations, in the "profession" of counseling. She has managed to bring in most of the concepts, problems, and clichés which have characterized the private family agency's struggle to formulate its services, and she deals with the popular misconceptions concerning psychiatry and psychoanalysis so that there would seem to be few questions left unanswered.

It will not be surprising, therefore, if the social worker dubs this book superficial and oversimplified in its presentation; and, indeed, the author seems to go out of her way to assure us that she realizes this. One must read, however, from the point of view of the relatively uninformed lay person, and here it is probable that much sound advice may be gained from the book. On the other hand, one might question whether this attempt to cover so much ground might not confuse or at least fail to convince the average reader.

Lack of depth in a book of this kind is not a criticism, but this reader feels that something vital is lacking in the presentation and that perhaps the author, in spite of her caution in discussing the limitations of counseling, has really not come to grips with the fact that personal change does not necessarily accompany intellectual insight and that the business of helping people outside of the known techniques of psychoanalysis is still too unformulated and varied to be effectively presented as a "profession of counseling."

One is reminded of another small book published many years ago and addressed to a social-work audience—*The Art of Helping People Out of Trouble*. Written before the days of psychiatric and case-work formulation with regard to personality problems, it somehow has more of a feeling for people in trouble

than this bird's-eye view of the possibilities for meeting these problems today. On the other hand, Miss Groves has put together a good deal of useful information, and it may be that through it many people will be enabled to recognize difficulty and to seek out help. We shall only hope that the counselors they find will be as helpful as the author believes they can be. If they are, it will be because every field has people serving in it who can integrate knowledge and intuitive skill and not because there is any common denominator in the field of psychiatry, case work, psychology, and theology that can at this time point to a body of knowledge and techniques that we can dignify as the "profession of counseling."

JEANETTE HANFORD

UNITED CHARITIES OF CHICAGO

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*Eye Hazards in Industry.* By LOUIS RESNICK. New York: National Society for the Prevention of Blindness, 1941. Pp. 321. Illustrated. \$3.50.

*Eye Hazards in Industry* is published at an opportune time when the focus is on conservation of man power in the interest of national defense and when publicity is being given to the rise in industrial accidents accompanying the growth of defense industries. Among the workers likely to receive eye injuries are those persons so difficult to replace and so necessary to national defense—machinists, toolmakers, drill operators, and other skilled mechanics.

Mr. Resnick, who completed this manuscript just three days before his death, was associated with accident-prevention work for twenty-two years, and this posthumous volume not only represents his own experience but is the result of collaboration with many safety engineers, physicians, executives, and government officials.

The facts are stated tersely and realistically. Mr. Resnick says that every thirty seconds throughout each working day an American workman suffers some type of injury which could have been prevented. Each day 26,880 workers are idle because of eye injuries. At the end of each year, 100 more American workmen have unnecessarily lost the sight of both eyes due to occupational injury, and 1,000 others have needlessly lost the sight of one eye. It is appalling to note that the estimated figure for yearly costs to the employers of the United States for eye injuries is \$110,000,000. Particularly in these times is this an appreciable problem in terms of national economy.

Specific in content, this book analyzes hazards, accidents, and diseases connected with the eyes and discusses in detail some possible solutions. The practical aspect of solving the problems is stressed. The appendixes give a self-appraisal form for eye safety in industry, list industrial poisons which are hazardous to the eyes, recommend minimum standards of illumination for industrial interiors, and give a comprehensive bibliography on eyesight conservation.

Although this book, technical in nature, is of especial interest to safety engineers and persons actively connected with the problem of industrial management, the general case worker will find that it opens up new avenues of thought. Certainly every social worker directly connected with industry will want to familiarize himself with its contents.

COOK COUNTY BUREAU OF PUBLIC WELFARE  
BLIND RELIEF SERVICE

RUTH DOUGLASS

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*The Trodden Road: An Autobiography.* By ALBERT MANSBRIDGE. London: J. M. Dent; New York: William Salloch. Pp. xii+304. Illustrated. \$3.50.

Education in England being a social service, the renaissance of adult education must be reckoned among the outstanding British social experiments of this century. The leader in this movement since 1903 has been Albert Mansbridge. The value of this book is in the light that it throws upon his social heritage and religious inspiration.

Mansbridge came of a family of skilled craftsmen. Like millions more, at fourteen he left school, to be an economic asset instead of a liability to his parents. And like thousands of others in the suburbs of London, he drifted from the skilled work of his ancestors into a series of white-collar blind alleys. Already, however, he had shown his ability by winning his way to an old endowed school by one of the scholarships that were so rare in the nineteenth century. Good fortune then combined with his own personality to make him into an inspiring organizer.

At Westminster Abbey, just across the Thames from his boyhood home at Battersea, he came under the spell of the Church of England and of some of the leading churchmen of the 1890's. Like George Lansbury and other leaders of working-class origin in the last generation, he found in the national church his spiritual home. Christian Socialism reinforced his devotion toward working-class self-help movements of every kind, from temperance societies to the Co-operation Wholesale Society and the Cooperative Building Society, with both of which he found employment. Attendance at university extension lectures and participation in the educational work of the co-operative movement brought him into prominence in summer meetings at the older universities. Through Charles Gore he was brought into contact with heads of Oxford Colleges. In 1903 he founded the Workers' Educational Association, in the hope that working-class initiative might put new life into the university extension movement.

From the first the W.E.A. enjoyed a multiple sponsorship. Inspiration came largely from scholars in the older universities, and funds came largely from the central and local governments, thanks to the administrative policy laid down by Sir Robert Morant, the civil servant who was then permanent head of the board of education. The local trade-unions and co-operatives threw up hundreds of devoted organizers of tutorial classes.

The W.E.A. was never more than one aspect of adult education. It avoided vocational training. It omitted manual craftsmanship. If it taught history and economics to trade-union organizers, this was only a part of its general effort to bridge the chasm between labor and learning. The social philosophy by which it was animated was the gospel of spiritual self-realization.

No man [Mansbridge writes] can feel the real glow of life unless he is striving, consciously or unconsciously, to utilize the gifts with which he is endowed. Every man, in the last analysis, desires to make the best of himself. It is the behest of his spirit. If the argument which is put to him harmonizes with this, and no artificial motive such as getting on in life be suggested, he at once wishes to respond. . . . The real message of education goes direct to the hearts of men [p. 68].

Small as it has always been, the W.E.A. has made many positive contributions to English life. The three-year tutorial class, half lecture and half discussion; reliance upon student interest; the study of literature and society without a secondary-school training in language and science—these were innovations in English educational techniques. English scholarship gained in lucidity, in significance, and in popular appeal. A new bond was added to the remarkable social cohesion and liberal conservatism of the English people.

This bookful of an active man's notes by the way, shows Albert Mansbridge as an educational democrat interested not only in his own spiritual child but also in all that might make English education, in his own words, a broad "highway" instead of a "ladder." "The great need of England," he wrote, "is the expression of democracy, which means that every man shall have his chance, and shall realize his chance, to fulfil himself." And, "The only essential product of all activity is men and women who are able to live and grow towards the highest that is possible for human experience" (pp. 275, 273).

Those who are interested in American workers' education might ponder his remark: "The [tutorial] classes spread quickly to the Dominions and to Scotland. Being, however, an expression of the English spirit, it has been found difficult to promote them in other countries, even in the United States" (p. 245).

WILLIAM HARDY WICKWAR

ROCKFORD COLLEGE

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*Consumers' Cooperatives in the North Central States.* By LEONARD C. KERCHER, VANT W. KEBKER, and WILFRED C. LELAND, JR. Edited by ROLAND S. VAILE. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1941. Pp. xvi+431. \$3.50.

*Case Studies of Consumers' Cooperatives.* By H. HAINES TURNER. New York: Columbia University Press, 1941. Pp. 324. \$2.50.

These two books make a valuable contribution to the literature on the co-operative movement because they provide both a general and a specific analysis of co-operative experience among Finnish-Americans. The large number of case



studies—including co-operative societies varying in size, membership, leadership, and financial success—furnish evidence of the weakness and strength of co-operatives and support the interpretations and conclusions made on the co-operative movement.

Mr. Turner discusses the co-operatives in the Lake Superior region and deals at length with the co-operative in Maynard, Massachusetts. The authors of *Consumers' Cooperatives in the North Central States* confine their attention to the upper lake region, in which about 70 per cent of the United States' co-operative development is to be found. Both books view the co-operatives in relation to their social and economic environment. In Maynard, Massachusetts, for example, co-operation is presented against an economic background of common dependence upon one industrial enterprise, low wages, frequent unemployment, high prices, and goods of inferior quality. Most of the co-operatives developed because of a desire to improve levels of living. Their organizers knew "physical hardship, economic exploitation, poverty, social isolation, and personal frustration. They were hard-pressed working people who desperately sought an effective social instrument to aid them in the struggle against economic and social handicaps."

The cultural heritage of the immigrant Finns and the environmental conditions of the areas in which they settled explain in large part the major role played by the Finns in the co-operative movement. Mr. Turner accounts for the relatively slow growth of consumer co-operation in the United States by the existence of other avenues of economic betterment, the heterogeneity of the American population, and the mobile, urban type of civilization. Co-operatives have flourished among Finnish-Americans because of "an adequate social basis in terms of neighborhood contacts and a common social philosophy." Evidence indicates that the immigrant Finns have almost an evangelical spirit about the co-operatives they have founded; but the same vital interest in consumer co-operation is not possessed by their children. This suggests that co-operatives in the future must increasingly appeal to their membership on the basis of economic gain. The case studies show that successful co-operatives have realized many of the benefits claimed for them: economies in distribution, lower costs, lower prices, better quality, democratic control. Those co-operatives which can serve the consumer better than can private business will feel less need to hold members through an appeal to loyalty. The most important services which consumer co-operatives can render are to protect their members against excessive prices and to help the consumer make rational choices. Yet consumer co-operatives have made merely a beginning in aiding consumers in their difficult task of market selection. In Part II of *Consumers' Cooperatives in the North Central States* Mr. Kebker discusses the possibilities of consumers' co-operation as a corrective and ameliorating influence in our present competitive economy. He makes specific recommendations for co-operative policies designed to enable the movement to serve its potential usefulness. He outlines what co-operatives have achieved and suggests what they might accomplish in educating consumers, in



meeting monopoly and monopolistic competition, in weathering monetary disturbances, in adjusting to economic instability, and in modifying the inequalities of private ownership.

Both books discuss the trend toward federation among co-operatives which has proved a major aid to their success. Federation has co-ordinated the business strength of the local societies and fostered social solidarity in the co-operative movement.

Mr. Kercher foresees a gradual expansion of the consumer co-operative movement—not a spectacular growth, but rather a continuation of its gradual extension into new lines of merchandise, into new fields of service, and into non-Finnish sections of the population.

Social workers have realized the importance of raising incomes to improve the economic status of their clients. Some have been active in promoting attempts to bring about increased wages and steady employment. They have given less attention to a second method of economic amelioration—that of making limited incomes go further. Consumer co-operation is one among various aids which low-income consumers may use to help stretch their meager incomes. Social workers in communities with successful co-operatives should bring to the attention of their clients the possibility of joining co-operatives.

A careful reading of either or both of these books will help clarify ideas on the accomplishments and potentialities of consumer co-operatives in the United States. The authors do not contend, as do some proponents of consumer co-operation, that co-operation is the panacea for all our economic ills. Their approach is objective, realistic, and thorough. The critical student of the co-operative movement will find that the case studies add immeasurably to existing knowledge about American co-operatives and give richness and validity to the general analysis and conclusions presented.

MARY SYDNEY BRANCH

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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### BRIEF NOTICES

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*The Public Welfare Directory, 1942.* RALPH E. SPEAR (ed.); EVELYN WATSON (assistant ed.). Chicago: American Public Welfare Association, 1942. Pp. viii + 219. \$1.50.

This little volume will be very useful, not only to the public welfare authorities for whom it is expressly provided, but to the private case-work agencies as well. At a time when great numbers of persons are moving from place to place and often fall into distress so that they have to apply for aid, it is helpful to know to whom an appeal for information, and often for service, can hopefully be addressed. Information is given by actual name and address in each of the states. The pattern is identical in each of the states except in the case of a few eastern states—New Jersey, New Hampshire, New York,

and Rhode Island—for which information about local authorities and agencies is included as well as the names, titles, and addresses of the state authorities.

It is interesting to note that in all but fourteen of the forty-eight states and the District of Columbia, reference is made to "routine inquiries concerning the ability of relatives to provide financial support," which should always be sent directly to the relatives and not to the state agency. Those saying nothing about such inquiries are the District of Columbia, Florida, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Michigan, Missouri, Nebraska, Nevada, Oregon, Utah, Vermont, and Washington.

This is the third annual publication, and the information thus made available should save overworked case workers much time previously spent in looking up information in public reports. There is a helpful chapter on "Interstate Correspondence Procedures," and information as to postage requirements is supplied. For each state, in this new edition, the organization and structure of the welfare authority are described. The programs are indicated by an ingenious use of abbreviations. Also described are the conditions under which old age and survivors information will be disclosed to public assistance agencies and to selective service inquiries. The material is ingeniously and successfully made available in compact and convenient form.

S. P. B.

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*Mobile Homes: A Study of Trailer Life.* By DONALD OLEN COWGILL. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1941. Pp. 227. \$2.00.

This book presents some conclusions about a sample of trailer life which will convince its readers that some of the beliefs they may have held regarding the economic conditions and social responsibilities of people who follow this way of life need revision. The trailerite is not from a low-income group; if he were, he could not afford the trailer in the first place. Furthermore, only 14 per cent of the group studied had an income of less than \$100 a month while over 35 per cent had an income of over \$200 a month; and, though the sample is small, it seems to warrant the conclusion that the trailerite has higher than average economic status. He is not dragging his children around the country without benefit of school; as a matter of fact, he has no children, the great majority of the group studied being married couples living alone. He is not evading his community responsibilities: he owns property, pays taxes, and shows an interest in civic affairs. He has legal residence somewhere and wishes to maintain it. He votes and considers it his duty to do so. He is not a liability in the community where he chooses to take his trailer, if judged by the amount of money he spends. From estimates of expenditures it appears that the trailerite not only pays his way but is in reality a community asset.

The author contrasts the trailerite with the transient in such vivid terms that the reader is aware of his own need to think clearly of the two in order to avoid the danger of thinking of them synonymously. The material is handled in a thoroughly scientific manner, with statistical analysis to give validity to conclusions. The author himself draws attention to the smallness of his particular sample, but his conclusions are corroborated by those of other students.

PEARL SALSBERY

TRAVELERS AID SOCIETY  
NEW YORK CITY

*Society and Medical Progress.* By BERNHARD J. STERN. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1941. Pp. 264. \$3.00.

By an analysis of medicine's changing role in society and a study of past resistances to medical progress the author has given his readers a perspective for contemporary controversies in this field. Medicine is dealt with functionally in its social and scientific setting. The principle is stated that "social, institutional, and scientific development impinge decisively upon medicine."

The opening chapters give a condensed review of medicine and surgery from earliest historic days until the present. The favorable and unfavorable influences on the development of medicine as a science are given major attention. The author might have given more space to a careful study of the changes in medical science and progress during the last twenty years—changes which are probably of greater importance than the progress of any previous century. The reader is impressed by the incredibly slow improvement of medical education and of hospital and medical science prior to the twentieth century. Of special interest in the early chapters are the paragraphs devoted to chemistry and to instruments facilitating diagnosis. The dependence of medical discoveries upon the existing knowledge and technology of other sciences is repeatedly shown.

An entire chapter is devoted to a historical review of medical education and medical licensure. The author's careful analysis of urbanization, income and health, and the conquest of famine throws light on many of the contemporary problems of medical economics. The chapter on income and health clearly points out that "the very group which stands most in need of medical services is the least provided for under the fee-for-service system."

This book with its excellent bibliographical notes will be of special interest and value to physicians and others who are giving thought to the great social changes which will undoubtedly take place during the next decade.

EDWIN F. DAILY, M.D.

DIVISION OF HEALTH SERVICES  
U.S. CHILDREN'S BUREAU  
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*The Making of a Criminal.* By F. OSWALD BARNETT. Melbourne: Stuart Taylor, Pty., Ltd., 1940. Pp. 56. 2s. 6d.

This brief study by a member of the Housing Commission of Victoria has significance for American social workers principally because it corroborates findings of our own studies of the factors involved in the delinquency of young people.

Essentially this is a statistical study of factors affecting 277 children who were declared delinquent by twenty-two of the twenty-four children's courts in Melbourne during the six months ending December 31, 1939; and of 94 youths who entered or were incarcerated in Castlemaine Reformatory Gaol during the twelve months ending February 28, 1933. The study begins with a summary and interpretation and concludes with an appendix, containing in tabular form the findings derived from questionnaires. An interesting series of charts in the familiar pictorial manner makes the format very pleasing. From the standpoint of methodology one could be somewhat critical. Mr. Barnett's description of procedure does not indicate the degree of control exercised over the questionnaires, which evidently were filled in by court and prison officials.

In the forty-three tables based on the questionnaires, delinquents residing in the Outer areas are compared with those living in the Inner areas, the latter containing the "slums," or the "interstitial areas" of the sociologist. In terms of concentration of delinquency the results are about what social workers would expect. The Inner areas (population, 250,000) in comparison with the Outer areas (population, 540,000) provided three times as many juvenile delinquents in proportion to population; and in the Castlemaine Reformatory, which is essentially a prison for those under twenty-one years, the proportion was approximately five to one. Property offenses, grouped under the heading of "acquisitiveness," constituted 90 per cent of the offenses.

Mr. Barnett makes many points with which social workers are in agreement. Perhaps one of his most significant statements is in relationship to the futility of our present methods of dealing with offenders: "Society will gain greater security and also reap greater results in the development of a true citizenship if at the beginning it seek to discover and remove the causes of bad citizenship, rather than wait till the young blossom into crime, and then punish the offender who has never had a chance, and who is therefore morally blameless" (p. 34).

Although weak in certain technical aspects, the booklet is interesting and informative as to conditions prevailing "down under."

FRANK T. FLYNN

UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME

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*The Law Relating to Child Welfare Affiliation and Adoptions (Child Welfare Act, 1939), with Annotations, Regulations and Forms Made under the Child Welfare Act, 1939, and Rules and Forms Made by the Supreme Court of N.S.W. for Use in Adoption Proceedings.* By JOHN CHARLES LITHERLAND, B.A., L.L.B. Sydney: Law Book Co. of Australasia Pty. Ltd., 1940. (American and Canadian agents: Carswell Co., Ltd., Toronto, Canada.) Pp. xi+380. 35s.

This comprehensive act adopted by the federal parliament of Australia three years ago repeals earlier acts and brings together and supplements the provisions of those acts. It will be interesting to many social workers, although it is intended for the lawyer, and great pains have been taken to cite authorities and to summarize decisions that may not be easily available to the members of the bar throughout the commonwealth. The material is organized in nineteen sections, each comprising a statement of legal principle supplemented by explanatory statements with citation to the appropriate legal authority. Many full citations in connection with the problem of the child born out of wedlock, adoption, the subject of children's courts, and of allowances to destitute children and young persons living with their parents are presented with sympathy, sound case-work principles, and genuine concern for the well-being of the children of the nation.

S. P. B.

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*Rhode Island: A History of Child Welfare Planning.* By HENRY J. CREPEAU. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1941. Pp. xii+340. \$1.50.

The subtitle, "An Analysis of Public Efforts To Make Legal Provisions for Children in Need of Special Care," more accurately describes the scope of this work, since the

author has deliberately excluded all but incidental mention of voluntary effort in behalf of children. The result is an excellent history of three centuries of child welfare legislation. In view of the very long period covered, the decision to exclude discussion of administration and, for the most part, judicial interpretation of the laws was undoubtedly necessary.

In addition to the statutes, the author has canvassed a mass of documentary material in the form of town council records and minutes, much of it unpublished, which has been skilfully used in the text and which adds to the interest of the work. Two long chapters on "The Problem of Child Dependency" are of special interest. Extracts from the seventeenth-century town council records, when the business of the day was an attempt to provide for an orphaned child, confirm Dr. Margaret Creech's findings in her study of the early poor laws—that a good deal of kindness and wisdom went into these early "social plans."

An appendix contains a number of important documents which are difficult of access or exist only in manuscript. There is a complete bibliography.

JAMES BROWN

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*Possum Trot.* By H. C. NIXON. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1941.  
Pp. xi+192. \$2.50.

This study of a rural community in the deep South merits attention because of its sound, forthright approach to the economic plight of the farm population in the eastern cotton area.

Mr. Nixon, author of an earlier volume, *Forty Acres and Steel Mules*, is an experienced cotton farmer and as an economic historian and sociologist has served on the faculties of several of the leading universities of the South. He is at present a member of the faculty of Vanderbilt University, and as a student of the South he is a 1941-42 fellow of the Julius Rosenwald Foundation.

The first few chapters of the book are devoted to a somewhat personalized account of the history and present economic and social condition of Possum Trot, a crossroads community in Alabama which was the author's birthplace and in whose affairs the Nixon family have been active for more than two generations.

But this is more than the story of one rural community. Possum Trot is the springboard from which the author steps to a discussion of the causes of the collapse of the cotton economy of the region, the need for a balanced agriculture to replace the one-cash-crop system, a critical appraisal of the A.A.A. program in relation to cotton, the need for lower tariffs and equitable freight rates, the advantages and disadvantages of industrialization of the South, and other pressing problems. Two chapters deal with politics and leadership in southern public affairs and with the characteristics of the South as a region. Addenda include reprints of a series of articles by the author which have been published in various southern newspapers.

Social workers should welcome this little book, for it is through Mr. Nixon and other liberal spokesmen for the South that a way may be found to surmount the social and economic problems of an agricultural economy in a transition period.

GRACE BROWNING

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

*The Presidents and Civil Disorder.* By BENNETT MILTON RICH, Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1941. Pp. x+235. \$2.00.

This carefully documented and adequately indexed volume contains a factual statement regarding the response of the President to conditions of public disorder from the time of the Whiskey Insurrection in 1794 to the strike at North American Aviation in June, 1941. Occasionally the author allows himself to express approval or disapproval of the President's action, as in the case of Washington and the Whiskey Rebellion in 1794 (see p. 20), or of Cleveland and the Pullman strike (p. 91), or of T.R. and the Coeur d'Alene riots (p. 110), or of Wilson and the Ludlow "Massacre" (p. 136), or of President Hayes and the riots of 1877 (p. 204). The material is exciting; the statement of fact objective. Perhaps the most interesting episode in the mind of the present-day reader is the march of the Bonus Army on Washington in 1932 and the part played by General Douglas MacArthur at that time. General MacArthur is clear as to his part today in the Philippines, but in that earlier conflict the problem was how to treat the men many of whom had served overseas in the "war to end war" and found themselves later facing the enemies of destitution and joblessness. Such a problem would be too difficult for many an officer who could be brilliant and successful in the face of superior military forces. That is, the kind of skill one needs to exercise is affected by the kind of enemy one faces.

One of the author's most interesting conclusions is (p. 213) that "the history of these disturbances demonstrates that the inhabitants of a disturbed area have little to fear from an army that is properly trained, equipped, and commanded," all three conditions being essential but not always practicable nor easy. Interesting illustrations of the difficulty are cited, and the ways in which those difficulties have been surmounted are described, from the experience of Washington to the experiences of Wilson in Nevada and Colorado. The book is an interesting and challenging discussion in the area of state federal relationships.

S. P. B.

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*Federal Aid for Education.* J. E. JOHNSON, compiler. New York: H. W. Wilson Co., 1941. Pp. 286. \$1.25.

This book is one of the well-known series that presents facts and reference material on both sides of important current questions. Here are the most convincing pros and cons on the question whether the federal government should try to equalize opportunities for education by means of grants-in-aid to the states. The question is important for social workers who are concerned about further federal aid for health and welfare programs, for social workers are also concerned about methods of improving the basic services such as education. We are told that "the federal government spends less for education than for any other governmental function." And this is related to the present emergency by the statement that "the nations of the earth which are economically powerful today are those which have made the greatest progress in achieving the fundamental revisions in economic organization and practise known as the industrial revolution. . . . The preparedness crisis is quickly and dramatically bringing home to us the indispensable nature of skill and technical and professional competence in modern warfare. What we do not see clearly is that the same factors which have changed the whole face of warfare have also revolutionized peacetime economy. . . . Science, invention,



the machine, and technically and professionally educated workmen are the very foundation of economic power today. . . . Let us not forget that one nation after another, well on the democratic road, has slipped back into despotism in recent decades because it was unable to harness the wild horses of modern technology. Can we succeed where others have so ignominiously failed?"

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*Boston's Immigrants, 1790-1865.* By OSCAR HANDLIN. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1941. Pp. xviii+287. \$3.25.

Dr. Handlin's volume continues the scholarly studies of immigration history for which Harvard has been distinguished in recent years. While the broad sweep of Professor Hansen's scholarship and vision is not present, this is an excellent piece of research dealing with the economic, social, and political effects of the great tidal waves of immigration that swept into Boston before the Civil War.

Boston became an industrial metropolis during this period, and the influx of thousands of foreigners led to intergroup hatreds and conflicts. The Irish, who formed the largest group of Boston's immigrant army, were divided sharply from the natives and the non-Irish foreigners by differences in intellectual background and in social development. Before the decade 1850-60 the new Irish population had little contact with the old American residents, and therefore there was little conflict between the groups. In that decade, however, the growth of the Irish group seemed to the native Bostonians to threaten their social and political ideals and aspirations and led to the bitter anti-alien campaign of the Know-Nothings, which came to an end with the outbreak of the Civil War. The war and the new issues of the developing industrial order presented a basis for co-operation between the two groups; but each retained, and retains today, its cohesiveness and the consciousness of its own identity.

This is an interesting as well as a scholarly book, although the weight of the footnotes will be discouraging to the general reader.

E. A.

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*The Mingling of the Canadian and American Peoples, Vol. I: Historical.* By MARCUS LEE HANSEN. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940. Pp. 474. \$3.00.

This important volume is one of the "Canadian American Relations Series" published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Economics and History.

The regions now Canada and the United States have been exchanging population in very large numbers since about 1700, and consequently there are millions of North Americans whose families have branches on both sides of the boundary. On no other continent could such a situation have been taken so much for granted that no one has hitherto worked out a comprehensive record of how it happened. For various reasons, Americans and Canadians have seldom thought of each other as "immigrants" and have only occasionally been aware that they were working out in unison the patterns of North American culture. When it was realized that this gap in knowledge must be filled, the late Professor Hansen undertook the difficult task, and his unfinished work was completed and prepared for publication by John Bartlett Brebner. Professor Han-



sen had uncovered much new material even for those sections of the country where it was thought to be unobtainable, and Dr. Brebner has been very successful in completing the volume.

E. A.

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*The Growth of Stuart London.* By NORMAN G. BRETT-JAMES. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1940. Pp. 556. 25s.

*Wage Regulation under the Statute of Artificers.* By R. KEITH KELSALL. London: Methuen & Co., 1938. Pp. xii+132. 7s. 6d.

Students of the history of social reform movements will find much that is interesting in these two studies in English economic history. The little book on the enforcement of the great Statute of Artificers throws light on early attempts at wage regulation—attempts that were planned to benefit the employer much more than the employed men and women of the early period. New evidence is found in this study of methods of using the regulations and of the trend of wages in different parts of the kingdom.

The more ambitious and handsomely illustrated volume by Mr. Brett-James shows that seventeenth-century London was faced with many of the same social problems that have survived into the present century—slum clearance, town planning and open spaces, jerry-building, fire, and sanitation. There is also the question of the influx of aliens. How these problems were dealt with at that time—the period of the Great Plague and the Great Fire—and what happened to the poor of those days crowded in their cellars and attics is always interesting to social workers of today. This volume also goes back to the serious outbreak of plague in 1562 and 1563, when over twenty thousand perished out of an estimated population of ninety thousand. In “the most corrupte and pestering” areas where there were “many fruterers, pore people and stinking lanes and other such places, there dyed most in London, and were soonest infected and longest continued.” Statistics for that period were obtained by “the ancient women who acted as searchers” and who were appointed as searchers as a means of giving them relief, “thus combining economy with inaccuracy.” These “sober ancient women” searchers were first appointed in 1578, when “two honest and discreet matrons” were chosen for each parish and required to report on all who died of plague and “themselves to keep away from the healthy.”

There were always complaints about foreigners, and especially the Irish, who were “a police, sanitary, poor law and industrial problem, all in one.” In 1629, another plague year, the aldermen of London complained to the Lord Mayor about “the multitude of poor Irish and other vagabond persons with which all parts of the City are pestered” and which would “necessarily cause great danger of spreading the contagion.” The history of the plague in the seventeenth century is a long story well told.

E. A.

## REVIEWS OF GOVERNMENT REPORTS AND PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

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*Services for Crippled Children under the Social Security Act.* (U.S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 258.) Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1941. Pp. v+95. \$0.15.

The Social Security program for crippled children administered by the United States Children's Bureau under Title V of the Social Security Act has been a very successful and popular service, and this excellent report gives a good account of this work. The growth of medical science during the last seventy-five years and the development of orthopedic and plastic surgery have brought the possibility of physical restoration to many children suffering from crippling conditions. The efforts of private individuals and physicians treating crippled children had built up a system of hospital service and community assistance for the care of crippled children that led first to state action and in 1935 to federal action to provide funds for such services.

The Social Security Act in 1935 included authorization for an annual appropriation of \$2,850,000 for grants to the states to enable them to make possible the extension and improvement of services for crippled children, especially in rural areas and in areas of financial need.

Before the passage of the Social Security Act some provision had been made in thirty-seven states for a state department or commission or a state hospital to provide medical treatment and hospital care for crippled children, and thirty-five of these states had made appropriations for this purpose. In most of the states, however, sufficient funds were not available to carry on broad programs, including the finding of crippled children throughout the state and the provision of diagnosis, medical and surgical treatment, and aftercare service.

The new program inaugurated under Social Security was the first instance of federal and state co-operation in providing medical care involving federal grants to the states.

The policies and procedures developed for carrying on the crippled children's program deserve close study from many standpoints. Among these are: (1) The relationships of the Federal administrative agency to the State crippled children's agencies; (2) the relationship of the State agency to other State and local public agencies and institutions giving some form of service to crippled children; (3) the development of co-operative relationships with private agencies serving children or seeking service for crippled children; (4) the selection and training of the staff of the State crippled children's agency; (5) the protection of the quality of care made available for crippled children through the development of standards for the selection of physicians, surgeons, and other professional workers in private practice engaged to give treatment to crippled children and through the adoption of standards for the choice of hospitals, convalescent

homes, and foster homes to which children are sent for care; (6) the development of community resources for providing care for crippled children who do not need to be hospitalized; and (7) the development of aftercare services to meet the health and social needs of the child who has been given medical treatment.

The report of the Technical Committee on Medical Care submitted to the Interdepartmental Committee on Health and Welfare Activities in 1938 included the recommendation that the program for crippled children should be expanded and that within ten years \$10,000,000 should be made available annually for services for such children, of which one-half, or \$5,000,000 would be the federal contribution. This goal has not been reached, but the 1939 amendments of the Social Security Act opened a new period in the development of services for crippled children by raising to \$3,870,000 the annual amount authorized for federal grants to the states and by providing that of this amount \$1,000,000 would be allotted, without a matching requirement, on the basis of the financial need of each state for assistance in carrying out its state plan, after consideration of the number of crippled children in need of service and the cost of service.

By June 30, 1937, every state, as well as Alaska, Hawaii, and the District of Columbia, had designated a state agency to administer crippled children's services. By March 24, 1939, every state had obtained the approval of the chief of the Children's Bureau, as required by the Act, for its state plan for services for crippled children and was matching in whole or in part the federal funds offered for this purpose. The present report includes the story of the development of the program which has expanded year by year.

Most of the states have found it necessary either to create an official crippled children's agency to administer the crippled children's program or to reorganize and strengthen an existing public agency. The official children's agencies designated by the states include the department of health in twenty-six states, the department of public welfare in fourteen states, a crippled children's commission in five states, the department of education in five states, and a university hospital in one state.

That the program for crippled children is primarily one of medical care is recognized in the selection of those who compose the professional staffs of the state agencies—orthopedic surgeons, pediatricians, other medical specialists, public health nurses, medical social workers, and physical therapy technicians. A count in December, 1939, showed that in thirty-five states physicians were serving as directors of the program and in four states physicians were serving as assistant directors.

In the local phases of the program—locating crippled children, conducting diagnostic and treatment clinics, and supervising aftercare services in the home—the state crippled children's agencies receive the assistance of local health departments, welfare departments, and school authorities.

The principal responsibilities of the state crippled children's agencies are summarized as follows: To locate children in need of care and to maintain a

state register of crippled children; to arrange for the diagnosis and treatment of crippled children at permanent clinic centers or, in sections of the state where there are not permanent centers, at itinerant clinics; to arrange for surgical and medical care by orthopedic surgeons and physicians at selected hospitals; to arrange for treatment and care for children living at home who do not need operative care or treatment in a hospital; to place children, when necessary, in convalescent homes or foster-homes; to provide or arrange for physical therapy treatments when indicated after the child has returned home; to provide public health nursing and medical social services to the family for the purpose of continuing the care of the child and helping him to make a social adjustment in the family, at school, and in the neighborhood; and to refer the child for training to the state vocational rehabilitation service. There is a special progress report for each state.

The registration of crippled children is a basic service essential to the determination of the scope of the program. It is the first step in arranging for the care of the individual child. The work of the Bureau has been very effective in promoting the crippled children's register in the different states. Each year the records are becoming more nearly complete and are yielding more reliable information on the number of crippled children in the United States and on the character of the crippling conditions from which they are suffering. The state registers of crippled children are not limited to children accepted for care by the state agency. It is intended that these registers shall include all persons under twenty-one years of age, living in the state, who are suffering from crippling conditions as determined by a licensed physician under the definition given in the state law or regulations, regardless of their economic status, their need for medical care, or the availability of treatment. When completed the registers will provide a dependable answer to the question frequently asked: How many crippled children are there in the United States?

In 1936 the number of crippled children registered was 85,000 in thirty-four states. By January 1, 1940, it was 249,000 in the forty-eight states and the territories and District of Columbia. Tables are given showing the number of crippled children on the state registers and the number per 1,000 population under twenty-one years of age for each state.

There are interesting stories of children who have received help, and there are extracts from some of the hundreds of letters that have come to the Bureau from the children or their parents.

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*Clothing Children in Foster Homes: Suggestions for Child Welfare Workers in Public Agencies in New York State.* Albany: State of New York Department of Social Welfare, David C. Adie, Commissioner, 1941.

This fifty-page pamphlet should prove useful to many workers in child-placing agencies, private as well as public. It is an intelligent, direct, and sim-

ple statement of the importance psychologically and materially of providing foster-children with clothing which is suitable as well as adequate. It points out that the methods used in selecting and purchasing this clothing have significance in helping or hindering the child's adjustment in the foster-home and in developing his independence and sense of responsibility.

It recognizes the different points of view of the child, the foster-parent, the social worker, and the public, which provides the funds, and suggests practical methods of reconciling these differences while at the same time meeting the special needs of the foster-child.

For the child in foster care, the problem of clothing differs somewhat from that of the average child. The foster child knows all too often that his stay in his present foster home is dependent on how he behaves and he is consequently apprehensive and insecure and needs every assistance possible to contribute to a sense of adequacy. As clothing is so important in community acceptance, it should be made, if possible, a source of satisfaction and confidence for him. He should appear as an own child in the foster family would appear and since the foster family is among the economically independent families of the community, he should have clothing which conforms with this status. The quality of his clothing, therefore, must be carefully planned to be good enough in comparison with the average child to escape derogatory remarks by his companions. These children in foster care will have to make their own way in the world like any other child and the problem of clothing will eventually be their own. They will have to assume the responsibility of selecting and paying for their clothes themselves and should be able to meet this responsibility at least as well prepared as children brought up in their own homes.

The suggested plan for the purchase of clothing by the foster-mother, guided by "worker control on a semi-annual budgetary basis" is undoubtedly sound. More direct participation of the worker with the child himself would seem to be indicated, however, with some older children whose relations with the foster-mother might thus be spared the additional strain of reconciling detailed differences in taste between an older person and a "rebellious adolescent."

The actual cost figures presented suggest that public agencies probably need to be more liberal in providing their children's clothing. An interesting short bibliography of helpful material is attached.

More analyses such as this of the details of agency procedure in the care of children in foster-homes—analyses in which are suggested practical methods which take account of emotional and psychological values—should do a great deal to improve the quality of care provided for dependent children. Our fine philosophies of acceptance and participation actually mean nothing until they are thus translated into the concrete realities of the child's daily living.

ETHEL VERRY

CHICAGO ORPHAN ASYLUM

*Child Dependency in Illinois.* By JOHN KAHLERT. Springfield, Ill.: Illinois Department of Public Welfare, Division of Child Welfare, 1940. Pp. 108.

Very few states can say definitely how many dependent children are living within their borders. Neither do they know how the total service rendered is divided among the various agencies and institutions active in the field. This is true even though the existence of exact data is all but indispensable if intelligent planning is to be done. The present report is one of the few state-wide studies that has been undertaken; but, despite the careful planning and thorough canvassing which characterized this effort, it still was not possible to present complete data on child dependency in Illinois.

The facts with reference to children receiving certain types of care were complete and were relatively easy to secure: e.g., children in licensed institutions and boarding-homes, which are required to report in order to be licensed. But of that much larger group—the children in general relief families and those under the jurisdiction of the county court—little is known. The reporting required of township supervisors as a condition of securing state funds for relief is not sufficiently detailed to give any picture of the children being aided. It is the county courts, however, which have been most derelict in this matter and which have exercised to the fullest their constitutional prerogative of refusing supervision by an administrative agency. Of the 102 county courts in Illinois, only 19 had, at the time of this study, seen fit to co-operate with the child welfare division in reporting on the whereabouts of the children under their care. In some instances, representatives of the division were permitted to examine court records, but in others “there was considerable resistance to reporting to the Department of Public Welfare on a matter which was felt to be an entirely local concern.” Examination of the records showed that the courts frequently knew nothing of the whereabouts of their wards, and it was found that “guardianship procedures are often taken lightly and that little thought is given to the responsibilities involved. Children who have been bereft or abandoned are brought to the court for its protection only to be, in effect, abandoned again.”

This study will certainly be welcomed by child welfare administrators in other states interested in developing or improving their reporting system. Although the organizations and facilities for child care vary from state to state, there are certain common problems of procedure, definition of types of care, discharges, etc., which are discussed in detail and should prove useful. Much thought and expert assistance have gone into the development of the Illinois reporting system, and readers will be glad to find a complete set of the reporting forms currently in use included as an appendix.

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*National Defense Migration: First and Second Interim Reports, Select Committee Investigating National Defense Migration.* (77th Cong., 1st sess., House Reports No. 1286 and No. 1553.) Washington, D.C., 1941. Pp. iv+118; iii+149.

*National Defense Migration: Hearings before the Select Committee, Parts 18-20, pp. 8015-8217.* Washington, D.C., 1941.

The new publications of the hard-working Tolan Committee of the House of Representatives include not only two interim reports but also two volumes of the Detroit Hearings of last autumn and the Washington Hearings of October, with the testimony of Donald M. Nelson and other witnesses on various aspects of the use of man-power for defense purposes. Eric H. Biddle, of the American Public Welfare Association, testified regarding his recent trip to England. Aubrey Williams submitted a statement regarding placement, types of jobs, and states of origin in clearance through N.Y.A. regional centers. There were many notable witnesses.

It is not possible to cover the wide sweep of the work of this committee, but the *Second Interim Report*, with recommendations on "Full Utilization of America's Industrial Capacity and Labor Supply in the War Effort," issued late in December, is especially important. An important section deals with the subject of "alleviation of unemployment and training of the unemployed for defense production." The report discusses what is described as "the very large-scale unemployment attendant upon the early days of the war" and suggests that swift measures must be taken to cushion the effect upon the national economy and to prevent workers who will in the near future be called upon for strenuous and continuous employment on wartime production from suffering undue hardships in the meantime. While recommending that unemployment compensation benefits be increased and their duration extended, the Committee was not willing to report on the question of the nationalization of the whole unemployment compensation system. On this controversial question the Committee says:

The committee heard able testimony recommending the nationalization of the unemployment compensation system to meet the Nation-wide dislocations occasioned by national policy attendant upon the war program. Because the committee has not heard sufficient evidence in opposition to be able to balance the arguments of all parties concerned, we have reserved judgment on the question of nationalization at this time [p. 16].

There is a good deal of attention given to the training programs that are so greatly needed; this is in line with the fact that the Committee has so long considered the needs of migrants that adequate provision for training is properly regarded as a means of reducing the hardships of the migratory laborer's search for work. It is encouraging to the friends of W.P.A. to have the Committee approve the work of this agency:



The Work Projects Administration is in the opinion of the committee the only Federal agency equipped to provide or pay for defense training on the part of hundreds of thousands of workers.

Under present legislation assistance by the Work Projects Administration is limited to those unemployed certified by local relief agencies. This limits assistance and defense training by the Work Projects Administration to those unemployed who have been pauperized. We do not believe that the Federal Government should place itself in the anomalous position of creating the unemployment of hundreds of thousands of our citizens and at the same time make defense training available only on condition of pauperization.

Furthermore local certification discriminates against nonresidents. The committee recommends the elimination of this certification procedure, first, that the unemployed will not have to become pauperized before they receive defense training; secondly, to remove existing discriminatory practices against local nonresidents in the training program. In view of the fact that the funds for the Work Projects Administration program come from the people in every State of the Union, we believe it is inequitable and discriminatory to limit these funds to local residents [pp. 16-17].

Various recommendations are made regarding a substantial reorganization of the administrative apparatus of procurement and defense planning. These recommendations, dealing with the full utilization of our national industrial capacity, participation of small- and medium-sized companies in the war effort, and the review of existing contracts, need not be discussed, but social workers will be interested in recommendations made under the subjects "Transfer of Labor to War Work" and "Alleviation of Unemployment and Training of the Unemployed for War Production."

There is an interesting section on "Unemployment within the Defense Program," and the impact of the war program upon employment is analyzed for the automobile industry in some detail. The effect of sudden "disemployment" upon the workers of Michigan is discussed in a section dealing with "Migration to and from the Michigan Automobile Industry." The problems of labor transfer from civilian to defense work are discussed on a broad community and industry basis.

Social workers are again indebted to Congressman Tolan and his Committee for the extremely valuable material he has made promptly available.

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*Veto Messages of Dwight H. Green, Governor of Illinois, on Senate and House Bills Passed by the 62nd General Assembly of Illinois.* Springfield, 1941. Pp. 104.

The governor of Illinois found it necessary to disapprove or to return without his signature a considerable number of the bills passed by the Sixty-second General Assembly, meeting in the winter of 1941; and, in this publication, the messages in which he has stated his reasons are made available to interested

students. There were in all 96 such measures, of which a number are of special interest to social workers. There was, for example, the measure requiring citizenship as a prerequisite for the practice of a considerable number of professions. The governor's discussion of the place of the noncitizen or alien in our American life is liberal and beautifully presented. "It is in a time such as this," he says, "that official and personal relations should be conducted upon the most liberal interpretation of liberty."

The legislature undertook to increase the taxation on which aid to the blind is based; but Governor Green said, "No! No increase in public grants." The legislature, too, undertook after three-quarters of a century to revise the so-called "Lunacy Act," which was to have been transmuted into a mental health act. This act undertook to widen the processes of admission by including voluntary application, or receiving on the certificate of two physicians without court commitment. It might be noted that the governor, who is an able and experienced lawyer, in these vetoes relies on the opinion of his attorney-general as to the constitutional character of the bill under consideration. The question suggests itself as to why the advice of the attorney-general might not have had greater influence on the legislature and prevented the enactment and the resulting disappointment.

S. P. B.

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*Third Report, State of Louisiana Department of Public Welfare, July 1, 1939—June 30, 1940. Baton Rouge, 1941. Pp. 95.*

The third report of the Louisiana State Department of Public Welfare, covering the period July 1, 1939—June 30, 1940, is a clearly written, brief, and factual record of the services rendered by the state agency during that year. The Appendix, which includes statistical data, forms more than half the *Report*, and the presentation of the organization and activities of the department is considerably telescoped. A change in the state administration during 1940 and in the director of the department made it inevitable that the more detailed discussion and analysis of the problems faced by the department during this year should be omitted.

The main functions of the department during the year were the administration of a large public assistance program, including old age assistance, aid to dependent children, aid to the blind and general assistance, and the child welfare services developed since the passage of the Social Security Act. The considerable sum of \$14,101,621.82 represents the total revenue of the department for the fiscal year. Briefly stated, approximately four and one-third millions came from federal funds and nine millions from state funds, while the remainder represents a balance on hand at the beginning of the fiscal year plus certain miscellaneous items. Local appropriations made by the police juries (county com-

missioners) were just under \$70,000, indicating the extent to which the Louisiana public assistance and child welfare programs are state and federally financed.

Part III, "Activities of the Department," gives a brief description of the several types of public assistance and includes data on the characteristics of recipient, residence and living arrangements, physical condition and medical care, receipt of other aid, marital status, payments to recipients, and reasons for closing grants. There are many interesting facts included in this section of the *Report*, but only a few can be mentioned. The number of recipients for old age assistance has increased from 9,156 in June, 1936, to 31,882 for the same month in 1940. However, the rate of increase from 1939 to 1940 was only 6.1 per cent as compared with an increase of 14 per cent for the previous year. This decline in the rate of increase was to be expected, but the *Report* points out that there were more than 5,700 pending applications for old age assistance at the end of June, 1940, and, unfortunately, 2,711 applications for aid to dependent children were also pending on the same date. On the other hand, it is interesting that, of the recipients approved for O.A.A., approximately 48 per cent were white and 52 per cent were Negroes, although the 1930 census figures show that in the age group over sixty-five years, 68 per cent of the population was white and only 32 per cent was Negro.

Louisiana is not one of those states that has neglected the A.D.C. program, and this fact is shown by the 13,081 families receiving such aid during 1939-40. As the *Report* points out, the growth of this program has been more consistent than that of any of the assistance programs, and the disbursements for the year amounted to \$3,355,005.98, as against \$4,446,794.39 for old age assistance. Prior to 1936 the state maintained no public child welfare program; and, therefore, the steady increases in services to children in the rural areas, as well as the development of the New Orleans child welfare division, has been an important achievement. Of the sixty-four parishes, twenty-four had organized child welfare units, and service was extended to individual children in twenty-three additional parishes through the state child welfare consultants. Over \$66,000 was expended on this program, of which approximately \$25,000 came from federal funds. Altogether, the *Report* indicates the extent to which the Social Security Act has stimulated and extended the public social services to the people of the state of Louisiana.

ELIZABETH WISNER

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK  
TULANE UNIVERSITY

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*State of New Hampshire Twenty-third Biennial Report of the Department of Public Welfare, 1940. Pp. 67.*

This *Report* is a readable and informative account of the department's activities during the first two years following a general reorganization in July,

1938. The department's principal responsibility is the administration of old age assistance, aid to dependent children, and aid to the blind, as well as the conduct of a rather comprehensive program for dependent children, including foster-home placement and supervision and licensing of all private institutions and boarding homes. In addition, the department supervises the activities of the state's veteran officer and a state-wide social service index; it also collects and publishes statistics from all public institutions, including the county jails, county almshouses, and six state institutions caring for aged veterans, the insane, the feeble-minded, the tubercular, delinquents, and criminals. Besides financial aid, the department maintains a broad program of services to the blind, including educational, medical, employment services, and measures designed to prevent blindness.

The *Report* is truly a comprehensive record of the social services in the state, because, besides narrative discussion of the department's own services, there are statistics covering activities of all agencies, both public and private, which are supervised, licensed, or inspected by the Department of Public Welfare.

The reader of this *Report* is impressed with the many modern and progressive features of this state welfare department and the services which it offers. It is regrettable that the state legislature has not seen fit to broaden the scope of its services to include general relief and a larger measure of control and supervision over the six state institutions, which latter are now administered by separate boards of trustees and are independent of any department.

The New Hampshire experience is of interest to the student of state-local relationships in the administration of public assistance. After a period of direct state administration of all public relief (1933-35), followed by a three-year trial of local administration under state supervision with state aid (1935-38), New Hampshire in 1938 turned back to the counties, cities, and towns all responsibility for general relief and has since assumed full responsibility for the administration of old age assistance, aid to dependent children, and aid to the blind. The state pays all costs of aid to dependent children and aid to the blind but continues to require 25 per cent reimbursement from the local units for old age assistance. In the care of children in foster-homes the department maintains a state-wide placement service and supervises the children so placed, but all costs incident to the boarding of children are charged back to the locality of settlement. This curious division of responsibility results in considerable conflict between the state department and the county or town involved over the necessity for placement of children outside their own homes. Contrary to the practice in most New England states, the state of New Hampshire assumes no responsibility for the nonsettled; here the county pays for the support of needy persons without city or town settlement.

Assumption of state responsibility for the "categories" has not resulted in their being adequately financed. The *Report* speaks of "insufficient funds" and of "a large waiting list" for aid to dependent children. In November, 1939, the

department was obliged arbitrarily to reduce all old age assistance grants by an average of two dollars per month in order to avoid having to shut down all intake for the remainder of the biennium.

The results of returning general relief to the counties and towns are shown at the end of the *Report* in the statistical tables, wherein are found population data for each of the ten county almshouses. Here one sees the unclassified almshouse, common in the nineteenth century, but out of keeping with the remainder of New Hampshire's present public assistance program. On June 30, 1940, there were 1,131 persons in almshouses, of whom 228 were children under three years of age, 306 were under the age of sixteen years, and 358 were over sixty-one years of age. Twenty-five nationalities were represented, and 60 inmates are characterized as insane, 135 feeble-minded, 15 epileptic, 46 intemperate, 98 crippled, 30 blind, and 9 deaf.

ALTON A. LINFORD

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK  
SIMMONS COLLEGE

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*Commonwealth of Pennsylvania Department of Welfare: Tenth Biennial Report of the Secretary of Welfare, June 1, 1938, to May 31, 1940.*  
By E. ARTHUR SWEENEY, Secretary. (Bull. 82.) Harrisburg, 1941.  
Pp. 82.

Pennsylvania is one of the states that separated the assistance program from the other social welfare activities, leaving in the Department of Welfare the institutional program both in the field of mental hygiene and in that of corrections. This *Report*, therefore, has to do with the management of state hospitals, which it is hoped will some day furnish facilities adequate for the complete state care of the mentally ill; of three institutions for the mentally deficient; and of the penal and correctional institutions from which each year approximately twenty-five hundred men and women are paroled or released to their respective home communities. In addition to the institutional services, there are the Child Welfare Services, carried on with help from the United States Children's Bureau; there are services for the blind; and there is the work of the Division of Research and Statistics.

The data are presented under the following general headings: Bureau of Mental Health; Prison Labor Division; Research and Statistics; Accounting; Legislation, 1939; Institutional Management; Bureau of Corrections; and Bureau of Community Work, in which co-operation with the federal government and with counties is described. The facts are very briefly stated, and various graphic devices are used. A great deal of experience is revealed with a variety of human beings, all in need of special treatment and presenting all aspects of misery except, perhaps, the need of material relief, which would be met by application to the Department of Public Assistance.

There are some strange suggestions arising from the selection of type and presentation of facts. Very large type is used for the heading of certain subdivisions of the chapter on "Institutional Management"; for example, "Milk and Egg Production" (p. 4) is all in large capitals, as are the words "Pig and Farm Crop Production" (p. 48), whereas "Interdepartmental Cooperation" and "National Youth Administration Projects" are in smaller type. And the heading for the "Rural Child Welfare Unit" paragraphs, in which the co-operation of the department with the United States Children's Bureau is described, is much more modestly introduced.

The task of the department is really too big, too varied, and involves too many kinds of need, too many kinds of services, to be adequately set out in a booklet of eighty-two pages. However, there are facts and figures. The reader knows that an attempt has been made to give an accounting of a stewardship involving 25,000 persons in mental hospitals and 9,845 persons in state penal institutions, besides supervising 68 county prisons, a workhouse, a prison farm, a house of correction, and 548 local—that is, city, borough, and township—lockups. The *Report* seems to be confused, undoubtedly in part because it has seemed necessary to cut the statements which were probably submitted by bureau chiefs. As Pennsylvania is one of the great and wealthy states of the Union, but a state also with difficult and as yet unsolved problems in the field of social welfare; as it has undertaken to organize its welfare activities after a new pattern, it seems only fair that the accounting of its experience should be set out quite clearly and simply in order that the other states may profit and that its own citizens may see clearly how its work in these varied fields is being developed.

S. P. B.

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*Tennessee Department of Public Welfare: Third Annual Report.* Nashville, 1941. Pp. 128. Mimeographed.

To meet the expressed purpose of this *Report*, i.e., to show "the functions, management, and financial transactions of the State Department of Public Welfare for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1941," much of the material is given over to describing the duties of the agency and its financial activities. While we are glad that a total of \$9,360,766 was expended for assistance, what we really want to know, of course, is what this did for the needy aged, the blind, and dependent children and for case-work services to children. The organization of this *Report*, with chapter headings according to the divisions of the department (Division of Accounts and Records, Division of Research and Statistics, etc.), appears to stress the functional factors rather than the human values for which welfare programs exist.

The year's expenditures included \$4,866,082 for old age assistance, \$3,180,981 for aid to dependent children, \$218,078 for aid to the blind, and \$329,450 for



Confederate pensions. The total for the first three assistance programs represents an increase of 11 per cent over the preceding year. In addition, surplus commodities with an estimated value of \$5,652,530 were distributed. Administrative expenses decreased 5.4 per cent to a total of \$763,677 for the year.

The section of the *Report* summarizing the activities of the Division of Child Welfare is particularly interesting and gives a clear account of the development of the Aid to Dependent Children and Child Welfare Services programs in Tennessee. Through a change in the plan in the former program, fuller responsibility for providing services to A.D.C. cases was accepted by local workers carrying such case loads, and there was "further translated into reality the principle that case-work service is an inherent part of the aid to dependent children program." In connection with the annual review of all A.D.C. cases attention was given "to the personal and social adjustment of the members of the family group and to the use . . . made of the assistance award." In one administrative region in the state containing 919 cases a tabulation of this latter factor revealed that two-thirds of the cases showed progress in the rehabilitation of the family.

During the year emphasis in the Child Welfare Services program was shifted from demonstration work, over a wide area to the provision of more extensive case-work service in a fewer number of counties. This change resulted in a decrease in Child Welfare Services cases from 2,525 children in 93 counties in June, 1940, to 786 children in 37 counties in June, 1941. The *Report*, however, points out that many of the children formerly classed as Child Welfare Services are now given service by an assistance worker in a local unit through what is known as General Children's Service. In June, 1941, there were 502 children registered in 66 counties by this service. A striking illustration of the work done by the Child Welfare Services program is given by an account of one east Tennessee county in which the worker over a period of four years concentrated on cases of juvenile delinquency. In 1938 a total of 21 boys were committed from this county to the State Training and Agriculture School. During the fiscal year covered by this *Report* no boys were sent to this institution, and only one boy was sent to a similar school for Negro boys.

Another important departmental development last year was the installation of a merit system for the selection of personnel. The *Report* gives this development as the chief reason for the reduction in administrative costs during the year, since no temporary appointments were made during the examining period. According to the financial statement more than \$150,000 remained in the administrative fund at the end of the year. This policy of restricting temporary appointments and questions of morale during the examining process created some administrative problems. An insufficient staff was noted as a factor generally offering some difficulties in administering both the assistance and the Child Welfare Services programs.

A state-wide study of the health recipients was made during the year, but



there is only the briefest summary of the findings of this survey and little attempt to relate them to the future development of the general welfare program. Although a separate statement of these findings is mentioned, the problem of ill-health among recipients is so important that a more extensive discussion of this study would have been welcome.

MARK HALE

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*Public Assistance in Missouri: A Biennial Report of the State Social Security Commission, 1939-40.* Prepared by DIVISION OF RESEARCH AND STATISTICS. Jefferson City, 1941. Pp. ix+134.

This interesting *Report* shows two things: (1) the effect of the federal authority on the state activity and on the state formulation of its work under the influence of a national program—order is coming out of the anarchy of the separate states' activities—and (2) the great increase in the volume of service that has been available during this period as compared with the pre-federal assistance period and the expanding range of effort with the new realization of opportunity.

With reference to federal-state co-operation there are several federal agencies with which the State Social Security Commission is associated in the effort to improve the situation in which Missouri residents find themselves: among these are the Social Security Board, the Child Welfare Services of the United States Children's Bureau, the federal Department of Agriculture Surplus Marketing Administration, the Work Projects Administration, and the C.C.C. This *Report* reviews the activities carried on with the help of each of these federal authorities; and, in addition, there are relief and service activities which the state carries on either "on its own" or in co-operation with the counties; and there are the county activities as well. The *Report* reminds the reader of its own structural organization and of the scope, structure, and administrative procedures of the federal social security authority.

As to the volume of service, monthly statistics are given for the four years 1937-40. In July, 1937, there were 100,430 cases receiving \$1,499,620. In December, 1940, there were 153,898 cases, for whom the expenditures were \$3,140,209, with total expenditures of \$92,762,397 in three and one-half years. The average assistance per case had increased from \$14.93 in July, 1937, to \$20.40 in December, 1940. The number of recipients of old age assistance increased from 13,943 in October, 1935, to 108,349 in December, 1940.

Interesting figures are given with reference to the recipients of old age assistance and also with reference to the 9,394 persons who applied and were rejected—2,623 being applicants for whom relatives were found to be liable.

The number of children being aided by the A.D.C. grants which became available only in January, 1938, increased from 98 families with 314 children in January, 1938, to 13,181 families with 31,078 children in December, 1940,

and the expenditures increased from \$3,350 to \$318,165. Missouri would like the federal act amended so that aid given Missouri children in their homes could be both more adequate and more flexible. The parental facts are given about the children. Interest especially attaches to the data with reference to the custodian in whose care the child is found. The Commission, on the basis of the Missouri experience closely scrutinized and carefully analyzed, makes very definite proposals of change in the federal and state statutes that would render its work still more efficient and, of course, asks for increased resources to enable its work to be expanded. It is a very instructive and informative report.

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*Report of the Department of Public Welfare of the City of Baltimore, State of Maryland, January 1, 1940—December 31, 1940. Pp. 258.*

The Department of Public Welfare of Baltimore derives its authority from an amendment to the Baltimore City Charter, in accordance with which the director of the department is appointed by the mayor for a term of six years. The director is assisted by an advisory board of nine members, two of whom—the mayor and the health commissioner—are ex officio. With the exception of the administration of Old Age Assistance, Aid to Dependent Children, Aid to the Blind, and General Public Assistance, the city department functions, for the most part, independently of the state public welfare authority.

The *Sixth Annual Report* is divided into four parts: a detailed statement in tabular form of all financial appropriations and obligations, but without any explanatory information; a very general but inclusive statement of the broad objectives of social welfare as such; detailed suggestions for immediate action along these lines in the city of Baltimore; and, finally, an account of the work of each division and subdivision of the department. The report is supplemented throughout with statistical data, and a long section (pp. 113-213) called "Statistics" contains elaborate and competently prepared tables relating to all aspects of the department's activities.

There is evidence of constructive progress in some areas—notably, the plans for a new children's division to be "established on a sound professional basis as to personnel and services" and to "assume full responsibility for the care of the nonsectarian child for whom the city of Baltimore agrees to provide substitute care."

The *Report* seems to reflect the glaring weaknesses inherent in the long-time system of public subsidies to private agencies and institutions. Although this system, as shown by the *Report*, has facilitated the provision of medical care for a large number of medically needy persons, in the field of child welfare it has probably delayed the establishment of a co-ordinated state-wide program, and it apparently continues to operate against the assumption by the state of responsibility to provide adequate care for dependent, neglected, and delinquent children.

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On the whole, this is an excellent compilation of facts and figures summarizing the department's activities.

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*Wartime Developments in Government-Employer-Worker Collaboration.* INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE. Montreal: McGill University, 1941. (Distributed by the I.L.O., Washington, D.C.) Pp. 152. \$1.00.

This report, a supplement to a former I.L.O. study, *Methods of Collaboration between the Public Authorities, Workers' Organizations and Employers' Organizations*, brings the original report up to date by describing the institutions and procedures recently developed for the furtherance of the war effort and national defense in the field of government-employer-worker co-operation.

The experience of many countries is analyzed in this study. Since the needs of war have led to innovations in the machinery of government in most of these countries, such changes are described in order to clarify the developments in tripartite collaboration. Chapters on Great Britain, Australia, Canada, India, New Zealand, Union of South Africa, and the United States summarize the defense organization in these countries. One chapter, dealing with the nations of Continental Europe, shows their adjustment in the field of collaboration to conditions of war, invasion, and occupation. The report concludes with an excellent interpretation of the significance of collaboration based on the experience of the free nations and of those brought under the control of the totalitarian forces.

The term "collaboration" is used in this study to mean the free, confident, and organized cooperation of employers and workers with each other and with the public authorities for the determination of conditions of employment, the framing and application of social legislation, the prevention and settlement of industrial disputes, and the formulation and application of social and economic policies, both generally and in relation to particular industries and particular problems. Collaboration implies the existence of voluntary and representative organizations of employers and workers, recognizing each other and recognized by the public authorities.

The contrast from country to country in the extent of participation of labor and employer groups in the war effort is due in large part to differences in the status of the labor movement and in the organization of industry. In Great Britain, for example, labor and employer groups have contributed to the war effort, not only through regular national government agencies, but also in local and area advisory bodies. In the defense program of the United States, while there has been an extension of worker-employer collaboration in the administrative structure of the federal government and in the industrial structure of the nation, participation has not been so full or complete as in Great Britain. Great Britain has had a long-accepted tradition of labor-management consultation. The trade-union movement is highly organized under a responsible leadership able to speak for the masses. Also, employers are organized into associations

which can negotiate for their members and assume responsibility for decisions. The United States, on the other hand, has a younger trade-union movement, a movement divided and still forced to fight for recognition.

Government-employer-worker collaboration has served a dual purpose. First, it has promoted the war effort by preventing industrial strife and securing better utilization of the resources and technical skill of the country, and, second, by providing for the democratic representation of varied interests throughout the nation, the extension of state intervention, made necessary by the war, has been tempered and assisted.

One of the most interesting sections of this report discusses the fields in which direct participation of employer and worker representation has proved valuable. These fields include: (1) determination of conditions of employment (working conditions and wage policy); (2) handling of industrial disputes; (3) production problems (such as problems of plant operation, concentration of production in a smaller number of firms, determination of essential occupations, purchase of materials, imposition of priorities, allocation of materials); (4) price and export and import control; (5) community organization problems (such as community feeding and evacuation); (6) welfare programs to safeguard the interests of workers and of mobilized men (family allowance schemes, insurance, elimination of industrial hazards, prevention of accidents from fatigue and overstrain, promotion of industrial hygiene, housing programs, recreation programs); (7) war propaganda and the distribution of information.

War experience thus far indicates that co-operation among workers' organizations, employers' organizations, and government authorities has been highly significant in furthering the war effort. As the United States prepares for war in a world at war, greater tripartite collaboration is a vital necessity. The authors of this study believe that an extension of the application of democratic principles and methods from the political into the social and economic life of the nation is an essential condition of the continued existence of political democracy. They end their report with the statement that wartime machinery for collaboration must not be scrapped unthinkingly after the war but adapted to reconstruction and peacetime organization.

MARY SYDNEY BRANCH

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*International Comparisons of Food Costs.* By ROBERT MORSE WOODBURY. ("International Labour Office Studies and Reports," Ser. N., No. 24.) Montreal: McGill University, 1941. (Distributed by the I.L.O., Washington, D.C.) Pp. 78. \$1.00.

The International Labour Office has been working for some years on an international comparison of costs of living. An analysis of the component parts of living costs—food, rent, fuel and light, clothing, and miscellaneous items—offers

the best approach to a study of costs of living. In this connection the Statistical Section of the International Labour Office has tried to improve techniques for comparing food costs. This report presents the methodology of international comparison of food costs.

To obtain a food-price ratio for each pair of countries in a series of many countries requires considerable calculation. For this reason, the food quantities of an international basket (the average quantities consumed per consumption unit in workers' families in all countries in the comparison) has often been used in making international comparisons. While this method requires less work, it is subject to error and does not give as close approximation to the true cost-of-food ratios between any two countries. The method of regional baskets is an intermediate method requiring less calculation than a country-to-country comparison and yielding more accurate results than the use of the international basket. A basic problem in the use of this method is to form regions in such a way that the group basket may be substituted for the local basket without substantial loss of accuracy. The report discusses the technique of grouping countries according to the similarity of proportionate food consumption. Methods are also presented for reducing the error in the food-price ratio by applying a correction factor; for extending the results to other cities; and for taking into account differences in consumption patterns in different economic groups.

No matter what the method of calculation, errors in the data of quantities and prices will affect price ratios. The sources and methods of collection of price and quantity data are examined, and the possibilities of error noted. For example, one serious difficulty is that of defining a food item and its quality in precise terms. Variation in quality may be responsible for a price difference between countries, thus impairing the value of the data for purposes of determining price ratios. The author stresses the need for careful description of the articles to be priced, for comparable sources of data, and for methods of checking on data.

This report is a technical analysis of the method of computing an international food-price ratio. The method presented represents an advance over previous methods of comparing food costs. It therefore brings nearer to attainment an international comparison of real wages, one goal of the International Labour Office.

M. S. B.

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*Handbook of Federal Labor Legislation.* (U.S. Division of Labor Standards Bull. 39, Part I.) Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1941. Pp. vii+86. \$0.35.

This *Handbook* was undertaken at the request of the National Conference on Labor Legislation in consultation with a labor advisory committee. It is proposed to keep the *Handbook* up to date, and a very practical kind of loose-leaf

form is used in order to make possible quick revisions or additions as new legislation is passed or as new regulations are adopted. Part I, the present volume, deals with "Labor Standards on Government Contract Work and Work Financed by the Federal Government." Other parts to be issued later will deal with other types of labor legislation of more general application, such as the Wagner Labor Relations Act, the Fair Labor Standards Act, the Railway Labor Act.

State labor laws do not directly apply to work on federal property and federal contracts. Such work is under federal jurisdiction. However, it is important to note that state labor laws may be extended by act of Congress to cover federal projects. Congress has provided for the maintenance of labor standards on federal projects by acts of Congress supplemented by the rules, regulations, and practices that have been adopted by agencies directing the work, such as the Rural Electrification Authority and the Farm Security Administration.

This volume deals with provisions covering hours of labor, workmen's compensation, safety and accident prevention, regulations in public contracts (Walsh-Healey Act), labor standards in the Bituminous Coal Act, labor provisions in the leases of government mineral lands, labor standards on federally aided road construction, on federal emergency public works, on federally aided housing projects, on projects aided by the R.E.A. or F.S.A., and, finally, labor standards on emergency relief work, such as W.P.A., N.Y.A., and C.C.C. This is a very useful book for social workers to have.

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*Eleventh Annual Report of the Division of Parole of the Executive Department, State of New York, for the Year January 1, 1940, to December 31, 1940. (Legislative Document, 1941, No. 10.) Albany, 1941. Pp. 222.*

Since parole is the last step in the treatment of the convicted offender, if this step is taken, it is late in receiving consideration from those who are trying to modernize criminal law procedure and to bring about its transition from a punitive to a true treatment undertaking. And where in any state this undertaking can command the full time and attention of two such able and experienced officials as Sanford Bates and Frederick C. Moran, there is ground for hope that progress may be anticipated even in this discouraging field. The New York Board has rendered useful service in setting out its own policies and practice and in interpreting the significance of the various steps taken.

Geographically, the Board has had district offices: one in Albany covering twenty-one counties, one in Buffalo covering twenty-seven counties, and a third in New York City with fourteen counties. A commissioner is in charge of each office. Functionally, there are the several groups of cases, the indeterminate-sentence cases, the deferred-sentence (or the commuted) cases, those on parole but allowed to go into other states, and those from other states over whom the Board exercises a co-operative supervision. There are questions of employment

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and of the relationship to the executive who can exercise clemency; and there are relationships with the legal department. On December 31, 1940, there were 218 members of the staff, of whom a number were case workers, a number were parole officers, and some had to do with the exercise of clemency; there was, of course, an adequate clerical staff. The paroled persons come from seven state prisons, from the Elmira Reformatory, and from normal persons released from the Woodbourne Institution for Defective Delinquents. As has been suggested, it is on the basis of such work as is reported here that a hope for an art of dealing with paroled persons so as truly to facilitate their complete rehabilitation may be based.

S. P. B.



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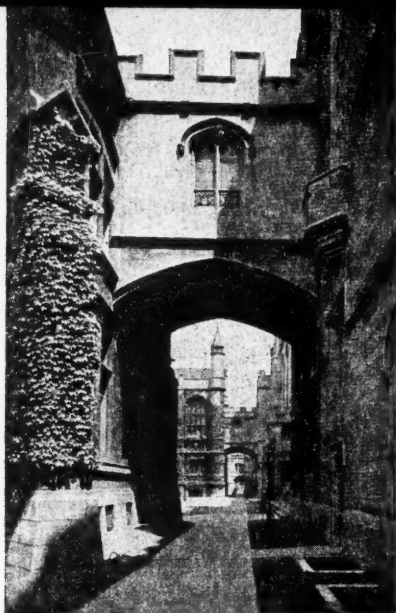
The American Library Association created this last year the Committee on Aid to Libraries in War Areas, headed by John R. Russell, the Librarian of the University of Rochester. The Committee is faced with numerous serious problems and hopes that American scholars and scientists will be of considerable aid in the solution of one of these problems.

One of the most difficult tasks in library reconstruction after the first World War was that of completing foreign institutional sets of American scholarly, scientific, and technical periodicals. The attempt to avoid a duplication of that situation is now the concern of the Committee.

Many sets of journals will be broken by the financial inability of the institutions to renew subscriptions. As far as possible they will be completed from a stock of periodicals being purchased by the Committee. Many more will have been broken through mail difficulties and loss of shipments, while still other sets will have disappeared in the destruction of libraries. The size of the eventual demand is impossible to estimate, but requests received by the Committee already give evidence that it will be enormous.

With an imminent paper shortage attempts are being made to collect old periodicals for pulp. Fearing this possible reduction in the already limited supply of scholarly and scientific journals, the Committee hopes to enlist the co-operation of subscribers to this journal in preventing the sacrifice of this type of material to the pulp demand. It is scarcely necessary to mention the appreciation of foreign institutions and scholars for this activity.

Questions concerning the project or concerning the value of particular periodicals to the project should be directed to Wayne M. Hartwell, Executive Assistant to the Committee on Aid to Libraries in War Areas, Rush Rhees Library, University of Rochester, Rochester, New York.



**The University of Chicago**  
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